TAMIL CIVILIZATION

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THE FORM (YĀPPU) OF MODERN TAMIL POETRY

S.N.Kandaswamy

Tamil poetry has a long and continued history. The canons of versification constitute the subject-matter of Yāppu (i.e. prosody) which has been counted one among the five fold grammatical systems in Tamil. Yappu literally means that which is bound, and in its extension of meaning indicates the poetic form made up of letter, syllable, foot, metric link, line, rhythm etc. It denotes not only the structure of the poem, but also its substance. In Sanskrit, Yāppu is known as Cantas which has been regarded to be one of the six limbs of *Veda puruṣa*. It is essential to note that the basic metres in Tamil are Veṇpā, Āciriyam, Kali and Vañci which are native and not found in Sanskrit.

In Tamil, Ceyyuḷiyal being the biggest chapter in Tol. (300 B.C) is generally accepted to be the earliest available text to elaborately deal with the rules of versification, revealing the richness of metres and forms of poetry and to some extent disclosing the relevant metre for a chosen theme. Tolkāppiyar, the author of this ancient Tamil prosody has mentioned in a general way in many a context, his predecessors (-pūrvācāryas) who has transmitted the poetic traditions and literary conventions to posterity. From these references, one can infer about the ancient nature of Tamil prosody.

During the period of Sangam classics (300 B.C. to 300 A.D), some of the prosodial rules of Tol. have not been adhered and fresh metrical usages came into vogue. Kalittokai, Paripāṭal and Cilappatikāram form the basic source for the germination of some of the supplementary metres known as Pāviṉam. The real credit for making innovations in the realm of Tamil prosody goes to the Nāyaṉmārs and Āḷvārs (600 A.D. to 900 A.D.), the Vanguards of Bhakti movement, who were instrumental for the dissemination of devotion, and preservation of orthodox religion, culture, and literature. These devotional hymnologists sang the glory of the Lord in the melodious language and utilised mostly the poetic forms of the folk. As a result, new metres were formed. After a careful study of the fresh poetic forms. a new school of prosody headed by Kākkaipatiniyar came into existence.

Among the three supplementary metres viz., Talicai, Turai and Viruttam advocated in the new school, the last one became very popular. Kamban, the author of the grand Tamil epic, Ramayana and the greatest among the Tamil

poets has been hailed for his creative skill in handling different types of virutta metre with effortless ease and hence he has been praised thus:

விருத்தமெனும் ஒண்பாவிற்கு உயர் கம்பன்

(i.e. to compose poetry in the brilliant virutta metre, the exalted Kamban alone is capable).

Viruttam in Tamil is different from the one in Sanskrit. Canta Viruttams in Tamil constitute a class by themselves, nurtured by Saint Arunagiri (1400 A.D.) and others. Upto the last century and to the first half of the present century, virutta metre commanded supremacy over all types of basic metres as well as supplementary metres.

With this background, let us proceed to deal with the popular poetic forms both old and new found in the modern Tamil poetry.

Yappu in Modern Tamil

In the present paper, a study of the structure of the poems of some prominent modern Tamil poets has been attempted to understand and isolate the chief poetic forms as noticed in their creations. First and foremost let us consider Mahakavi Bharatiyar's poems which served as models and source of inspiration for the subsequent Tamil poets, of our times. His patriotic fervour, revolutionary thoughts, tolerance, temperance, humanism and social consciousness contributed to the rich and variegated themes and forms of his poems. Apart from his songs on nationalism, emancipation of women, eradication of untouchability, equality etc., his immortal creations are Panchali Sapadam, Kannan Pattu and Kuyil Pattu. The significant and salient metres found in his works are to be identified and analysed.

Basic metres

Among the primary and basic metres, Bharati has composed poems in Venpā, Aciriyam and Kalippa. The absence of Vancippa in the entire corpus of his poetic works is significant. It is important to mention that this form did not attract the poets long before Bharati and hence slowly became obsolete. In order to revive this metre, Peruncittiranar has written மகபுகுவஞ்சி in this metre.

Bharati claims that his poems are fresh and new in taste, content, imagination and diction and calls them " நவகவிதை " (neo-poetry). Though he has closely followed the rules of prosody, and composed in the traditional and conventional metres, his poems remain to be new, because of the subject-matter, treatment, and expression charged with emotion at white heat.

Venpa

He has sung 44 poems in Venpa (-Nericai) metre. His small prabandha on the tenfold royal insignia of Bharatadevi (Dasanga) is formed in this metre. Though it echoes the one in Tiruvacakam, it has its own unique features revealing the originality of Bharati. In a different Prabandha on Vinayaga, he has given 10 poems in this type. One poem is sufficient to apprehend his poetic talent in creating this kind without any difficulty.

நமக்குத் தொழில்கவிதை நாட்டிற் குழைத்தல்
இமைப்பொழுதும் சோரா திருத்தல் —
உமைக்கினிய

மைந்தன் கணநாதன் நம்குடியை வாழ்விப்பான்
சிந்தையே இம்மூன்றும் செய்.

Aciriyam

There are four kinds in this metre. But, our poet has chosen Nēricai and Nilaimantilam. The first kind is found in Vinayakar Nāṉmanimālai. More poems are in the second type of Aciriyam. To delineate some themes on Mother India, historical persons, Tamil etc., he has selected this metre. His poems on "Kaṇṇaṉ - my disciple" and the depiction of the setting sun in P.S. are beautifully written in this metre.

In old poems, the final ending has usually been ee. But, in the present poems of Bharati there is no such restriction and they end with any vowel or consonant. They are very similar to the Blank verse in English.

Kalippa

There are many types and sub-members to this metre. Bharati is at home in composing Taravu koccakam consisting of four equal lines each of which containing four feet- each of which is made up of three metric syllables. This metre is originally meant to portray love themes and then devotional themes. To depict the bridal mysticism, Bharati has chosen this type. e.g.

பாயுமொளி நீஎனக்கு
பார்க்கும்விழி நான்உனக்கு
தோயுமது நீஎனக்கு
தும்பியடி நான்உனக்கு
வாயுரைக்க வருகுதில்லை
வாழிநின்றன் மேன்மையெல்லாம்
தூயசுடர் வான்ஒளியே
சூறையமுதே கண்ணம்மா.

Kaṭṭalaikalippā is a homogeneous metre of this family. This variety is conditioned by the number of letters prevalent in each half line, which if begins in mono-syllable would have 11 letters, and in dy-syllable 12 letters. But Bharati has made some innovations by placing 12 and 13 letters in some poems, and 10 and 11 letters in other poems of the same kind. The first kind is found in the poems under the title 'கண்ணன் என் காதலன்' 'உறக்கமும் விழிப்பும்' ". The second type is noticed in the poems on devotional themes, and in some poems of Panchali Sapadam. The traditional structure of this metre is found in the poems on புதுமைப்பெண் and others.

Venkalippa is another metre of this group. In this kind, the poem runs to more than 12 lines, combining both Ventalai and Kalittalai and ending like a Venpā. But, Bharati has made some revolution, while he wrote the poem 'கண்ணன் என் சேவகன்' in 64 lines furnishing the required rules of this type but ending not like a Veṇpā but a full kalippā. Such a fresh attempt is also to be seen in P.S. and in Kuyil Pāttu. In this context, it is proper to note that Nampiandar Nampi (1000 A.D.) has also composed one poem in this form. But, it is not certain whether Bharati has taken it as his model.

After having a bird's eye view of some of the trends in creating poems of the primary metres in the poetic works of Bharati, now we pass on to deal with the supplementary forms found in them.

Supplementary Forms

1. Kuṟal Veṇcenturai

This poetic form is a supplementary metre belonging to the Veṇpā

family. This metre consists of two equal lines, containing excellent theme and harmonious flow. This couplet comes very close to Distich in English Prosody. To accommodate abstruse ideas and metaphysical thoughts, this form is found more suited and convenient for Bharati. His poems on 'நான்' (I) are written in this metre. A sample is given hereunder.

வானில் பறக்கின்ற புள்ளெலாம் நான்
மண்ணில் திரியும் விலங்கெலாம் நான்
கானில் வளரும் மரமெலாம் நான்
காற்றும் புனலும் கடலுமே நான்.

The editor has given the name 'இரட்டைக் குறள் வெண்செந்துறை' to this poem, thinking that the first two lines form one unit, while the last two lines forming another unit. It may be presumed that for convenience one line is written in two rows. In the given passage,'வானில்' rhymes only with 'கானில்' and hence, this may be treated as a couplet containing two metric lines.

The substance of this poem is given here:

"I am the birds that fly in the heaven,
I am the beasts that ramble on the earth,
I am the trees that grow in the forest,
I am the wind, water and sea".

Since Bharati is an advocate of Monism (Vedanta), his idealistic outlook embraces all things, which are seen and known to be the expansion of his own consciousness.

This metre has some peculiar features. In general, this form would not get Veṇṭaḷai, a particular metric link which is a must in the primary Venpā metre. But here in the above passage, one finds Ventalai which brings a significant cadence to the readers.

Now, let us pass on to another supplementary metre known as Aciriya Viruttam, which is very dominant in his poems.

2. Aciriya Viruttam

In Tamil, Viruttam is composed in four equal lines, each of which should have at least six metric feet (*சீர்*) and alliteration and resonance as prescribed in the prosody and practised by the poets. Bharati has written many poems in different kinds of Virutta metre, which are named on the basis of the number of metric foot employed in the equal lines of each poem. Thus he has composed from Arucir Viruttam, to Pannirucir Viruttam, in which each line gets 12 metric feet. These types of metres are used to delineate all kinds of subject matter. One example for Viruttam is sufficient to understand his artistic skill.

சிறந்து நின்ற சிந்தை யோடு
தேயம் நூறு வென்றிவள்
மறந்த விர்ந்தந் நாடர் வந்து
வாழி சொன்ன போதிலும்
இறந்து மாண்பு தீர மிக்க
ஏழ்மை கொண்ட போழ்திலும்
அறந்த விர்க்கி லாது நிற்கும்
அன்னை வெற்றி கொள்ளவே.

This metre is known as "Canta Viruttam" in which each line has seven feet, the first one is in the pattern of Pulima, the last one is a kūvilam, the middle five are tēmā. Hence, each line is conditioned by the uniformity of syllabic structure and contains 16 letters. In counting the letters, the consonants occurring in the line are to be ignored. This

poem comes under the caption, 'Jaya Bharatam" (Hail to Mother India) and the music and rhythm spontaneously flows in it, the sound echoing the sense.

Encir Viruttam is beautifully woven in his biographical poems and in Panchali Sapadam, and this metre was adopted by most of the poets who came after Bharati.

The poem under the title 'தமிழ் மொழி வாழ்த்து' is again a Canta Viruttam of 12 metric feet in each line. A half line of this metre runs thus:

வாழ்க நிரந்தரம் வாழ்க தமிழ்மொழி வாழிய
வாழியவே.

The syllabic combination of each line reinforces a majestic gait which awakens the slumbering souls to get into immediate action. Each half line in this poem is rhythmically conditioned and the music pattern forms thus: தான தனந்தன தான தனந்தன தானன தானனவே containing 19 letters So, a full line consists of 38 letters. It seems that such a rare feat of prosodic skill should have been inherited by Bharati from his predecessors existed long before him.

With regard to the auxiliary metres of Kalippā family, Bharati has used only two types. Let us consider them one by one.

3. Kattalaikkalitturai

This metre is a unique one in which each of the four equal lines contains five metric feet linked by ventalai (- a metric link). The final foot in every line should be in the pattern of Vilankkay. If the initial syllable commences in Neracai, (mono-syllabic), then that line will have 16 letters. If it begins in Nirai (Dy-syllabic), then that line will have 17 letters. The final syllable in the last line should end in 'ee'. This type of metre is as old as Kāraikal Ammaiyar (600 A.D.). In the hands of Bharati, this metre gets its own elegance. His prabandha on Vinayakar contains 10 poems of this type. e.g.

நீயே சரணம் நினதரு ளேசர ணம்சரணம்
நாயேன் பலபிழை செய்து களைத்துனை
நாடிவந்தேன்
வாயே திறவாத மௌனத் திருந்துன்
மலரடிக்குத்
தீயே நிகர்த்தொளி வீசும் தமிழ்க்கவி
செய்குவனே.

The substance of this poem is this:

"I take refuge in Thee, in Thy grace.
The dog-like I came to Thee after having committed many mistakes and thus fatigued.

Stationed in silence, I would like to compose Tamil poems, Which would radiate brilliance like the flame, to your flower-feet".

The poets normally choose this metre to write devotional matter.

4. Kaliviruttam

This kind of Viruttam contains four equal lines, each one of them possessing four metric feet. Tullal oocai (-jumping sound) is dominant in this metre. One kind of Kaliviruttam is called kuruntokai yāppu which is witnessed in Vēttuvavari of Cilappatikāram and in the Tēvāram and Nālāyiram. This yappu is metrically conditioned, since each line is composed in such a way as to have 11 letters if it is commenced with

a mono-syllable, and 12 letters with a dy-syllable. In this type, Bharati has sung 9 poems all of which are adoring the Lord Kaṇṇaṇ.

e.g.

நின்றன் மாமர பில்வந்து நீசராய்ப்
பொன்றல் வேண்டிலம் பொற்கழல் ஆணைகாண்
இன்றிங் கெம்மை யதம்புரி, இல்லையேல்
வென்றி புகம்புக ழும்தரல் வேண்டுமே.

(We, who came in your great lineage, do not like to die as the low. We vow on your golden feet and wish you either to destroy us or to endow us with success and fame).

Bharati has employed two varieties of supplementary metres of Vañci group, which became very rare after him.

5. Vancitturai

In this kind, each of the four lines contains two metric feet, thus making the poem very terse and brief. This form is very common in the devotional literature and in the later epics. Bharati praised Lord Kaṇṇaṇ in this form of poetry.

e.g.

கண்ணன் திருவடி
எண்ணுக மனமே
திண்ணம் அழியா
வண்ணம் தருமே.

This metre recalls the one found in அடங்கெழில் சம்பத்து of Nammālvar (900 A.D.). If three poems are composed in this metre on a particular theme, then the same metre gets the name Vañcittālicai. The difference between these two is found not in the structure, but in the number of the poem.

6. Vanciviruttam

This supplementary metre has four equal lines, each one of them possessing three metric feet. Though this metre is well known to the devotional and epic poets, it was not very popular. Anyhow Bharati has composed a few poems in this type. One available poem is the following:

திண்ணம் காணீர் பச்சை
வண்ணன் பாதத் தாணை
எண்ணம் கெடுதல் வேண்டா
திண்ணம் விடுதலை திண்ணம்.

This poem is found in the Navarattinamalai of Bharatamata. This sort of brief verses exerts a powerful influence in the minds of the readers.

Folk Types

Bharati has also utilised some folk types to exert mass appeal. Cintu, Kanni and Kummi are the chief among them. The rules for composing them are not found in the regular treatises on prosody. They are very familiar with the people living in the rural areas. Melody is the main marker of these folk-types. Let us illustrate them one by one.

Cintu

In this type, music is the dominant feature. Normally, this metre is made up of one pallavi, anupallavi and three saranas. Epic and puranic themes were best suited to be sung in this metre. There are many submembers of this type. Kavatic Cintu is very famous. Examples for Cintu metre are presented here.

முப்பது கோடி முகமுடை யாள் உயிர்
மொய்ம்புறம் ஒன்றுடை யாள் — இவள்
செப்பு மொழிபதி னெட்டுடை யாள் எனிற்
சிந்தனை ஒன்றுடை யாள்.

கல்வி சிறந்த தமிழ் நாடு —புகழ்க்
கம்பன் பிறந்த தமிழ்நாடு — நல்ல
பல்வித மாயின சாத்திரத்தின் — மணம்
பாரெங்கும் வீசும் தமிழ்நாடு.

These poems are respectively on the National integrity and the greatness of Tamilakam. Bharati's songs on பாரத சமுதாயம்' belong to the first category of Cintu, containing three limbs as noted above.

Kummi

This is another kind, usually sung by the girls and sometimes the women folk in a festival or a party. They use to sing to the tune of their clasping of hands in such a way that their breasts and hands also are rythmically shaking. Saint Ramalingar has composed some poems in this folk type. Following him, Bharati has effectively written many poems in the kummi metre, in which two lines, each of which containing seven metric feet, are linked in Ventalai (-a metric link of Venpa). Some examples are cited here.

கும்மியடி ! தமிழ்நாடு முழுதும்
குலுங்கிடக் கைகொட்டிக் கும்மியடி !
நம்மைப் பிடித்த பிசாசுகள் போயின
நன்மைகண் டோமென்று கும்மியடி.

பட்டங்கள் ஆள்வதும் சட்டங்கள் செய்வதும்
பாரினில் பெண்கள் நடத்த வந்தோம்
எட்டும் அறிவினில் ஆணுக்கிங் கேபெண்
இளைப்பில்லை காணென்று கும்மியடி.

These poems are the declarations of the womenfolk fighting for their emancipation and claiming for equality with men.

There is one more type known as kanni which has been very familiar with the poets of the pre-modern period.

Kanni

This type also has some sub-members. To mock at the pseudo-patriots, Bharati uses this metre. He has sung 18 poems in this metre addressing the parrot and hence the name Kilikanni is given to this type.

நெஞ்சில் உரமுமின்றி நேர்மைத் திறமுமின்றி
வஞ்சனை சொல்வாரடீ ! — கிளியே !
வாய்ச்சொல்லில் வீரரடி !

கூட்டத்திற் கூடிநின்று கூவிப் பிதற்றலன்றி
நாட்டத்திற் கொள்ளாரடீ ! கிளியே !
நாளில் மறப்பாரடீ !

In the structure of this type of kanni, the first line had four feet, while the second line has three feet and a repeated foot marked by the word 'kiliye' followed by two more feet which ridicules the duplicate patriotic people. Here also, Ventalai is predominant.

He has also composed some kirtanais.

It is essential to state that the contemporaries and followers of Bharati have composed poems in almost all the metres adopted by the Mahakavi. But, special mention is to be made with regard to Bharatidasan. He has used to a maximum extent the metre known as Pakrotai Venpa, in which the ordinary Venpa is made to run to a number of metric lines. Also, he has used Encir Viruttam to write epics, mini epics and poems on various themes.

Kavimani Desiga Vinayagam Pillai has written Venpa without any strain or pain on religious and social matters. Lengthy Viruttams are his favourite metres. Talicai, known as half Viruttams is his another preferred metre. He has also written some musical compositions known as Kirtanai.

Suddhananda Bharati has contributed much to the Kuṟal metre. He has also nurtured almost all kinds of poetic forms as noticed in '**பாரதசக்தி மகாகாவியம்**'.

Namakkal Ramalingam Pillai being a true Gandhian poet has given us poems in various kinds of Viruttam. It is important to note that he has not sung either Venpa or Kattalai Kalitturai which had rigorous rules for their formation.

Kannadasan and others followed in the footsteps of their elder contemporaries in choosing the different kinds of forms to suit the themes that they ventured to describe. His film lyrics have some folk-forms and also the traditional metres.

Verse-libre

Next, in the history of modern Tamil prosody, we have to mention about a new wave of revolutionary poetic movement which threw away the traditional forms to the sea and wrote in their own way. These poems are known as "Puthukkavitai" or neo-poetry and sometimes as '**விடுநிலைப் பாடல்**' or verse-libre. Partially, they were influenced by the American and European counterparts. They became prominent only after 1970.

In Telugu, it is called as Digambara Kavitā, (naked poetry). This metaphoric nomenclature discloses the real nature of the neo-poetry. Just like the born-baby, this form does not have any ornament or dress. It is the direct outcome, focussing on a particular problem of the people.

This new form-poetry is best fitted to effectively present the realisitc aspects of day to day life. Poverty, hunger, conflict, righteous anger, social foibles etc., are some of the major matters that occupy this new poetic form. Communism and Gandhian thoughts influenced the neo-poets. Imagery, symbolic expression, ambiguity and brevity are some of the traits of this neo-form. The tone and texture of these new forms are awefully different from the traditional metres.

Saktikanal, Metha, Cirpi, Vali, Agniputran and a number of others are the noteworthy poets who have successfully handled the neo-poetic form. One example is given here to understand the nature of this poetry.

ஆ !
பாரதி-
புதிய தமிழுக்குப்
போடப்பட்ட
பிள்ளையார் சுழி...
பண்டிதர்கள்
கடத்திச்சென்ற
பைந்தமிழ்க் குழந்தையைக்
கண்டுபிடித்துக்
கொண்டுவந்த
காவல் நிலையம்...
பல
கோணங்களில்
கண்ணனைப்
படம்பிடித்த
கேமரா...
சமதர்மக் காற்று
சஞ்சாரம் செய்த
அபூர்வ
அக்கிரஹாரம்...

திருவல்லிக்கேணி யானை
தின்றுவிட்ட
தமிழ்க் கரும்பு
செத்துக்கிடந்த
தமிழன்
பிழைத்துக்கொண்டான்;
பிழைக்க வைத்த
பாரதி-
செத்துப் போனான்

ஆம் :
மோனைக் கால்களில்
முத்தமிழை நிறுத்தியவன்
ஆனைக் கால்களில்
அடிபட்டுச் செத்தான்

This piece of poetry is by Vāli, the film lyrist. The peculiar feature of this poetic form is that a single word whether it is a full word or a defective one, forms the metric line. A free rendering of this poetry into English is attempted here: This poetry is on Bharati who is the herald of modern Tamil - which idea is indicated by the phrase 'பிள்ளையார் சுழி' i.e. before commencing to write anything it is the habit of orthodox people to draw a symbol " உ " representing the first God Vināyaga. The Pandits lifted away the Tamil child (a metaphoric statement denoting the youthfulness of the language Tamil), and it is Bharati being the police station (a centre of protection) who searched for the child and recovered it (from the pandits). He is the Camera to click Kannan from various angles. (He is the rare agrahara where blew the wind of socialism). He is Tamil sugarcane, eschewed by the elephant of Triplicane (Because of him), the dead Tamilian resurrected, while Bharati, who revived him, was dead. Yes! He, who stationed the three-fold Tamil on the legs of alliteration, was stampeded by the legs of the elephant.

Though these writers profess that they are free birds uncared for the prosody, even without their knowledge some fundamental prosodial features are latent in their creations. Since they care little for the language, they use not only colloquial words but even foreign words freely, thinking that they give direct meaning to the readers.

This new entry in the list of traditional metres is seriously criticised by the orthodox scholars. Time alone will decide the fate of this new form.

To conclude, the poetic forms, whether old or new, will continue to exist as long as they are potential to communicate the thoughts, imagination, feeling, emotion and similar aspects, marked by powerful diction. Slowly old forms are giving way to the new ones, which again slowly are being replaced by different types of prose-forms. Bharati's vacana-kavitai (Prose-poetry) is really prose, but the wav, in which it is structured, has made it to be a type of neo-poetry. Such attempts in the history of Tamil metrics are not uncommon. Thus, there is ever scope for fresh poetic forms, both originals and adaptations.

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SUBRAMANIA BHARATI*

Prema Nandakumar

At the outset my grateful thanks to Prof. S.N.Kandaswamy and the Department of Literature of the Tamil University for giving me this opportunity to be with you during the proposed seminar on Subramania Bharati. Of course, in my rather not-too-short a career as a seminarian in the course of three decades, this is the first time when I find myself totally uncertain of what to say. This is because, so far I have no idea of what the thrust of the seminar is to be -- Prof. Kandaswamy's letter mentions only a 'Seminar on Bharati' -- the duration of the seminar, the number of participants or their names. Thus, I do not know how best to mould my keynote address that should set the proper tone for the seminar. Hence, you will have to forgive me if I appear discursive and pardonably dull. Fortunately, we are dealing with a poet like Subramania Bharati. And Bharati contains multitudes. His works are always a joy to read and there is always an accommodative vantage-point to view him from a new angle. With this total faith in Bharati, I proceed.

Indeed, I bring nothing to this seminar except this total faith in Bharati's writings. Not Tamil scholarship, for my basic discipline was in English literature. Not research background for my own doctoral and post-doctoral researches pertain to Indian writing in English. Yes, I have spent thirty years reading him and translating him. But it has only been a constant struggle, an eternal self-dissatisfaction, a continuous discovery of my own short-comings.

However, as a Tamil brought up on the banks of the Tambraparni river, my heart responds to Tamil -- especially the simple, unassuming Tamil of Bharati that insinuates spirals of meaning by the choice of a particular word or turn of phrase -- as to no other language. And in Subramania Bharati I have seen the golden gate that leads us to the shimmering shades of an ideal life, a life of love and joy, aesthetic enjoyment and social purposiveness, literary adventure and spiritual fulfilment.

But why Bharati again? Is he relevant still? It is more than sixty years since he passed away. Three generations and an independent India have ushered in massive changes in our political, literary and social environments. How relevant is he still? When he wrote his last poem in 1921, he had not seen the Second

* Keynote address delivered on 29-11-1987, during the Seminar on Bharati, held under the auspices of the Language Faculty, Tamil University, Thanjavur.

World War, the genocide indulged in by Adolf Hitler, the Atom Bomb's devastation of Nagasaki and Hiroshima, the possibilities of self-government going away. He had spoken out against the foreign exploiters of the Indian masses. A day was to come when the Indian in a free motherland feels like the African poet, John Ekwere:

"Now no more the palefaced strangers
With unhallowed feet
The heritage of our fathers profane;
Now no missioned benevolent despots
Bull-doze an unwilling race;
No more now the foreign hawks
On alien chickens pray --
But we on us!"

Sixty years! How can we think of Subramania Bharati as a modern poet? When the world over, so many isms have breezed past the literary fields, are we Tamils still imprisoned in the Bharati Age?

The answer lies somewhere in the history of Tamil literature itself. It is the native genius of Tamil literature that it effortlessly holds together the ephemeral and the eternal in a single grip. From the Sangam Age onwards, Tamil literature has never curled up into an exclusive philosophical vacuum nor has it totally surrendered to the current life-style. There is a constant linkage between the two that while our interest is kept glued to the work because of its historic present, our soul responds to the eternal values enshrined in the work. Beyond all the descriptions of kings and courtiers, courtesans and minstrels, each Sangam poem also reflects certain ideas that are never dimmed by the passage of time. Love, heroism, devotion, fraternal togetherness, friendship and compassion are some of the golden loops that bind the poems of yesterday to the contemporary consciousness. Poṉmudiyar, for instance:

ஈன்று புறந்தருதல் என் தலைக் கடனே
சான்றோனாக்குதல் தந்தைக்குக் கடனே
வேல்வடித்துக் கொடுத்தல் கொல்லற்குக் கடனே
நன்னடை நல்கல் வேந்தற்குக் கடனே
ஒளிறுவாள் அருஞ்சமம் முருக்கிக்
களிறு எறிந்து பெயர்தல் காளைக்குக் கடனே

"My duty is to give birth,
bring him up healthy;

the father's to make him
a good citizen;

the ironsmith's to forge
a sharp killer-spear;

the kings's to train him
in the art of war.

The duty of youth is to flash
the gleaming spear in the war,
destroy the enemy elephants
and return in achieved glory."
(Puram. 312.)

It may be seen that all the references except the first two are irrelevant to our days. At a time when even the Atomic power is sought to be channelised only for peaceful purposes and we look askance -- in fact, with positive distaste -- at war, war implements and war-psychology, there can be no place for the glorification of the ironsmith's duty to forge a killer-spear or the need for battle-field training or the destruction of enemy elephants. However, when we look upon the ironsmith as a symbol of modern technology and the King himself as the government's efforts to train the student in technological institutes, it follows

that the student should perceive his duty as working for his motherland and not running away to a foreign land in search of better emoluments. The thrust of the poem is patriotism at its purest; and that message has kept Poṉmudiyār's poem as relevant to Indian students today as it was two thousand years ago.

Apart from this basic contemporaneity of Tamil writing, the integral nature of Subramania Bharati's works is another reason which has given him the position of a mentor for us even today. He was the morning star of our Renaissance. He continues to be the brilliant guiding-light as we uneasily negotiate the passage into the 21st century. Whichever way we turn to improve our lot, it is Bharati who guides us through his poetry; and especially so when we have to strive to achieve national integration.

ஒன்று பட்டால் உண்டு வாழ்வே — நம்மில்
ஒற்றுமை நீங்கில் அனைவர்க்கும் தாழ்வே
நன்றிது தேர்ந்திடல் வேண்டும் இந்த
ஞானம் வந்தால்பின் நமக்கெது வேண்டும் ?

எப்பதம் வாய்த்திடுமேனும் — நம்மில்
யாவர்க்கும் அந்த நிலை பொதுவாகும்
முப்பது கோடியும் வாழ்வோம் — வீழில்
முப்பது கோடி முழுமையும் வீழ்வோம்
வந்தே மாதரம் என்போம்.

What is life without unity?
Division only spells ruin.
Is we hold fast to this truth,
what more can we need?

We'll bow to the Mother

Whatever may befall us,
We'll equally share it.
Thirty crores shall thrive
or all suffer defeat.

We'll bow to the Mother,
Bharat the Mother.

And yet. And yet few lives have been more chequered, and Bharati had constantly to struggle against poverty at home and Government hostility outside. He was a Titan, he stood his ground bravely; and he wrote ceaselessly, producing some of the most enduring poetry by achieving the rare wedding of Tamil speech and entrancing music. It is astonishing that even the journalistic hackwork did not seriously injure him. On the other hand; he brought a poetic glow and musical lilt even to his most casual prose writings. For example, we see journalism as sparkling conversation in *Taracu* (The Scales) enlivened with purposeful humour. The essence of the old scriptures as he saw it is memorably posited in his Prefaces, translations and expositions. He heightened satire and social criticism to the position of unforgettable creative art in *Cantrikaiyin Katai* and *Nana Ratham*. This is true of his stray journalism in English as well. What he said of conditions in India at the beginning of the century is couched bold, defiant, wise words -- words that are applicable today:

> And the first thing modern India demands of England to-day is that none may interfere with free speech in India. Free speech is the truest ally of every sensible government. When you stifle men's voices, you embitter and harden their hearts. And this word is based on the mind: 'Thoughts are things'."
>
> An old Indian writer says that the wise king should care more for the respect of a hundred

thoughtful men than the blind allegiance of a million fools. And the first condition for any sort of State to be respected is to permit free speech in all things and to all parties".

'Freedom from fear' is the *mantra* of Subramania Bharati's poetry. His patriotic poems may not take us today to the exciting summits of emotional frenzy as they did in the 'thirties and the forties'. But because Bharati did not sing only about political freedom, his songs of freedom have become images of a unified India. Bharati saw India as a Mother, great Bharat's Queen, the eternal sustainer. She stays in Dharma, even though apparently fallen; she stays in Truth, even though exploited; she saves from oblivion's curse our Books of Knowledge, even though we are careless; she gives us plenty, even though we indulge in destruction; she gives us the taste of freedom, even though we are apathetic.

முன்னை இலங்கை அரக்கர் அழிய
முடித்தவில் யாருடை வில்? எங்கள்
அன்னை பயங்கரி பாரத தேவி நல்
ஆரிய ராணியின் வில்.

Whose was the dread bow
That destroyed the Lanka hordes?
It was our terrible Mother's--
The Arya Queen, Mother Bharat.

Subramania Bharati is referring to the bow of Rama as the collective power of the nation. Bharati always sang not as a politician, but as a patriot. He loved Tamil intensely but his love for the union of India was intense. In poem after poem he emphasised the integral nature of the country and insinuated that the part could never equal, and much less exceed, the whole. In such a poem as 'Bharat our Land' --

மன்னும் இமயமலை எங்கள் மலையே
மாநில மீதிது போற் பிறிதிலையே
இன்னறு நீர்க்கங்கை ஆறெங்கள் ஆறே
இங்கிதன் மாண்பிற் கெதிரேது வேறே?

The mighty Himavant is ours--
There is no equal any where on earth;
The generous Ganga is ours--
Which other river can match her grace?" --

Bharati is engaged in projecting India as a whole before our consciousness, a unified vision of India in her physical beauty and majesty, with all her intellectual and spiritual qualities and powers. For a country like ours so fatally prone to cultivate narrow loyalties based on religion, caste, sect, region and language, this projection of the Mother -- the physical, intellectual and spiritual power and personality that is Bharat -- is perhaps Bharati's greatest contribution to the cause of our national unity.

In no other poet before or after Bharati has the concept of Mother India merged so beautifully with the concept of a Mother Goddess. The Sakti poems and Knowledge Hymns of Subramania Bharati answer a deep need in our soul that seeks freedom from fear. The Swatantra Devi is also Parasakti. The veil of illusion, Maya, is rent asunder by the sword of fearlessness. The process is so simple!

பயமெனும் பேய்தனை அடித்தோம் பொய்மை
பாம்பைப் பிளந்துயிரைக் குடித்தோம்
வியனுலகனைத்தையும் அமுதென நுகரும்
வேத வாழ்வினைக் கைப்பிடித்தோம்.

Having vanquished the demon Fear,
And killed the reptile Lie,
We have embraced the Veda's path
That leads to Brahma Knowledge.

Bharati's miscellaneous Poems are a tribute to his versatility. At the same time, it is astonishing how the poems have stood the test of time so well. Women's emancipation, for instance. How far have we progressed in these eighty years? Rather, there has been a lot of regression, perhaps! It is sad that much of Bharati's description of the 'new woman' has remained no more than a dream-vision. Bharati's *putumai-p-pen* is a creature of self-knowledge and self-respect, and she would teach and rule as also love and live, and she would claim her right to follow the occupations that the males have long monopolised as their own. Nor is this a merely Amazonian conception, for although the new Indian woman may scale the heights of knowledge and power, she will not forget her innate womanliness and grace and genius for love:

காதலொருவனைக் கைப்பிடித்தே அவன்
காரியம் யாவினும் கைகொடுத்து
மாதரறங்கள் பழமையைக் காட்டிலும்
மாட்சிபெறச் செய்து வாழ்வமடி !

Holding our beloved's hands
And rendering manifold help,
We shall yet stamp a glory
Greater than the laws of yore.

To Bharati, a devotee of Parasakti, woman was no frail creature; she was actually man's Sakti, the source of his strength:

Women's dharma destroys adharma,
Let's dance in their praise!

Kannan Pattu (Krishna Songs) may be considered as Subramania Bharati's contribution to devotional poetry based on the concept of an *archa* form. All the same, Bharati does not follow the traditional descriptions of Krishna's form, accoutrements and ornaments. If poets often seek to see God in the human personality of Rama, Bharati concerns himself with the human elements in the divine personality of Krishna. It is thus that *Kannan Pattu* escapes the label of religious poetry. Bharati analyses the contradictions that clash and merge in this godhead with electrical quickness:

உண்மை தவறி நடப்பவர் தம்மை
உதைத்து நசுக்கிடுவான்; — அருள்
வண்மையினாலவன் மாத்திரம் பொய்கள்
மலைமலையாவுரைப்பான் — நல்ல
பெண்மைக் குணமுடையான் — சில நேரத்தில்
பித்தர் குணமுடையான் — மிகத்
தண்மை குணமுடையான் சில நேரம்
தழலின் குணமுடையான்

"The falsifiers of Truth --
He smites them without pity;
Yet himself a liar he is,
To walk the path of Grace.
Softly feminine is he,
With a madman's vagaries;
And cool as morning dew,
Yet hot as glowing coal".

Presently waves of his devotion for this charming Divine as the guardian Sakti, overwhelm the poet and he takes the final refuge in the Divine Mother Kannamma by a mind-boggling leap of self-transcendence:

நின்னைச் சரணடைந்தேன் கண்ணம்மா !
நின்னைச் சரணடைந்தேன்
பொன்னை உயர்வைப் புகழை விரும்பிடும்
என்னைக் கவலைகள் தின்னத் தகாதென்று
நின்னைச்சரண்

I take refuge in Thee! Krishna
my Mother,
I take refuge in Thee.
That I may never be obsessed
By greed for gold or fame or
power

I take refuge

மிடிமையும் அச்சமும் மேவியென் நெஞ்சில்
குடிமை புகுந்தன, கொன்றவை போக்கென்று
நல்லது தீயது நாமறியோம் அன்னை
நல்லது நாட்டுக தீமையை ஓட்டுக.

Slavery and fear have camped
in my heart!
For slaying and dispelling them

I take refuge

Mother, as we know not the
right from wrong,
Instal the right and drive the
false away!

I take refuge

Thus when we see Panchali projected as Mother Sakti, it seems perfectly logical. Bharati's universe is not made up of building blocks like society, politics, religion, language and commerce. When due to envy or greed a wrong act is committed at the political or social level, the act affects the entire structure of the external universe of phenomena and the internal spaces of the human soul, even as the tightening or loosening of a bootstrap does when shoes are worn. It was Duryodhana's envy that led to the evil insult perpetrated on the floors of the Kuru court. But it affected not only Droupadi or the Pandavas. The insult affected the entire universe as if the centre of the earth had been pierced by a sharp instrument.

Duhshasana rose, and fell to
the task
Of is robing mother Droupadi
....
When as one demented
The fiend began the outrage,
She forgot the earth, sought
the inner Light,
And united with the Supreme.

Swift comes the answer from the beyond and here stands revived Droupadi, like a cone of fire with her unbounded dark tresses curling around, taking her terrible vow:

In Parasakti's name I take
this vow:
Not till the fiend Duhshasana's
red blood
Mingles with demon Duryodhana's,
And I smear my tresses with
their blood
And then bathe and wash it
all away --
Not till then will I gather again
These my tresses unloosened
and wild!

But is it merely the princess of Panchala whom we see in our mind's eye when we read the swift-moving, fire-tinged epic, *Pancali Capatam*? We move beyond myth and history and enter the all-inclusive world of prophetic poetry where Light and Darkness, Good and Evil *struggle for the soul of the world*. In the words of Professor K.R. Srinivasa Iyengar:

"Droupadi whose soul is hurt by the spectacle of human cruelty, Bharat Mata whose body is bruised and whose soul is writhing in agony, and the Great Creatrix -- the seed-of-all, womb-of-all, -- coalesce together and confuse our familiar categories of understanding. Droupadi is no doubt Woman -- she is all the women who have borne the burden of suffering in this sullied sublunary sphere -- but she is also, see from another angle, the Sakti to whose awakened eyes the Parasakti has revealed Herself, and Her Personalities and Powers. Bharati's *'Pancali Capatam'* viewed thus in the context of the Aurobindonian

and Gandhian 'revolutions' of our time is somewhat of a *mantra* of redemption, an enunciation of the religion of patriotism".

For those of us who want to rest away from the heaviness of it all, from the sorrow and struggle in time, from the weariness of the mundane world, there is always Bharati's *Kuyil . Pattu* that teaches us to see the beauty in the beast through the magic prism of love. It is love that brings out the best in ourselves and in others! If love fails, only death remains to haunt us as a terrible spectre. *Kuyil Pattu* is a superb poem in praise of love, its utter unpredictability, its glorious illogicality, and its defiant deathlessness. The ten pairs of contrasting words used in the title song bring to us the need for love in our everyday life. It is love -- the lover's love, the mother's love, the artist's love -- that sustains the universe and assures us of a living continuity in a world made up of failure, disenchantment, death.

And there is the *madhu vidya* of Vedic inspiration in Bharati's prose poems, poetic excellences that would teach us how to transform our mundane lives into the spiritual living of honeyed delight. As the prose poems belong to the last years of his career, they also constitute the fruits of his religious experience. Starting with the Nature around, Bharati soon exceeds it to reach up to a Spirit beyond Nature.

> The Air is Mahasakti's means
> for playing
> The game of Life".

Vedic in inspiration and romantic in conception, the prose poems of Bharati astonish and satisfy the reader by their sheer energy of utterance and opulence of imagery. Triumphs of suggestion, they succeed in nourishing in our hearts, to borrow a line from Walt Whitman, "the germ of the perception of the truly great, the beautiful and the simple".

Bharati died young. But he died full of honours if not of years; and died acclaimed universally as one of the immortals in the world of letters. He has left God's plenty as it is, and we shall cherish it with love, understanding and reverence, and honour his name as that of one of our supreme benefactors.

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THE CONCEPT OF SYLLABLE IN TOLKAPPIYAM

S.V.Shanmugam

Introduction

Tolkāppiyam has recognized only two basic elements in a language and they are called *eluttu* and *col*. This is revealed by the titles of the two chapters, viz., *elutt-ati-kāram*, chapter on phonology; and *col-l-atikāram*, chapter on morphology and syntax. However, the terms *eluttu* and *col* are not only used in different senses but also they have synonyms.

Eluttu is employed to denote the three senses, viz., 1) phoneme, 2) grapheme and 3) suffix. Among these, the first meaning is the most common and frequent and the other two are less common and less frequent. *kilavi* is the other term used synonymously to express the phoneme (E.62.1,81.1.etc.)

Col is used in the sense of morpheme, root and word. *kilavi* and *moli* are the synonymous terms. Among these terms, *kilavi* is the most frequent in the whole of Tolkāppiyam to denote the word and *moli* has the highest frequency only in the first chapter *elutt-atikāram* in the sense of word.

All these things make it clear that Tolkāppiyam has not recognized any other intermediate structure like syllable. However, Tolkāppiyam has described the sequence structure of phonology also the relationship between the phoneme and the word i.e., *eluttu* and *moli*. They reveal some sort of the concept of syllable. Moreover, the section on prosody in the third chapter also has some notion of syllable. Therefore the concept of syllable in Tolkāppiyam is discussed under three major headings viz., i) the sequence structure, ii) the relationship between *eluttu* and *moli* and iii) the elements of poetry and the implications with regard to syllable are pointed out under each headings.

1. Sequence Structure

First it should be noted that Tolkāppiyam has discussed in the first two sections viz. *nūnmarapu* and *molimarapu* of the first chapter, the phonological structure of Tamil. The first section, *nūnmarapu* deals with the inventory of Tamil phonemes and the various classifications and also the sequence of two consonants. However, this section is considered to describe the individual phonemes. So, it is problematic how the two consonant sequences could be considered as part of the phonemic inventory. This will be discussed in the later part of this section. The second section, *molimarapu* discusses the

phonological word by describing the sequence structure within a word.

Tolkāppiyam describes the initial and final phonemes in the second section of the first chapter and some sort of sequence restriction has been pointed out there also.

a. Initial Structure

S. 58 says all the twelve vowels can occur initially. The next sutra states that the consonant cannot occur initially if it is not followed by vowel. Therefore, the initial consonants with the following vowels are pointed out in the following sutras. This means the initial sequence can be either V- or CV- and not *CC-.

b. Structure of Finals

S.69 states that all vowels except *au* can occur finally. But the commentators say that this statement is common to vowels and syllabic letters (uyir-mey) and the short vowels occur finally only in *aḷapeṭai* 'extra-long vowel'. The next sutras (70 to 76) refer to the restrictions of consonant-vowel combinations in the final position and the sutras 78 to 81 deal with the consonantal ending. Therefore the final sequence in Tamil is either -V, -CV or -C.

c. Consonant Clusters

Tolkāppiyam has noted the occurrence of two consonant clusters and three consonant clusters, the former under the first section and the latter under the second section.

As already pointed out, the discussion of two consonant sequences in the first section is problematic. Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar (14th cent.), the commentator, states that the sutras discussing two consonant sequences are to be treated as the means *(karu-vi)* to the second section where the phonological structure of the word is discussed. Sivagnana munivar (18th cent.) justifies the inclusion of the sutras because, for him, consonant sequence is the characteristic feature of the each one of the consonants with reference to one or more consonants. According to him, the consonant sequence can be looked upon as a friendship or attraction while non-coming of two consonants as enemity or resistance.

Murugaiyan (1972) has explained the two consonant sequences in terms of syllable division and the concept of abutting enunciated by Abercrombie. Two consonant sequences whether they are geminated or non-geminated are hetro-syllabic, i.e. the first consonant of the sequences becoming part of the previous syllable and the second consonant becoming part of the following syllable.

$V_1\ C_1\ C_2\ V_2$ is syllabically

$V_1 C_1 - C_2 V_2$

Therefore, from the syllabic point of view, there is no cluster here and so the description of the two consonant clusters in the section where the individual phonemes are described is justified.

The three consonant sequences are discussed under the second section. Tolkāppiyam has rightly pointed out that the first consonant can be either one of *y*, *r* or *l* and the second consonant would be stop [P] or nasal [N]. The structure of three consonant sequences will be as follows:

$$\begin{Bmatrix} Y \\ r \\ l \end{Bmatrix} \begin{Bmatrix} P \\ N \end{Bmatrix} P \text{ or simply } C_1\, C_2\, C_3$$

The three consonant sequence is called by the term *īrorru* (S.48) 'two consonants' and it reveals the concept of the syllabic division. That is, the first two consonants form the coda of the previous syllable and the third consonant, the onset of the following syllable:

$VC_1\, C_2\, C_3$ is syllabically $VC_1\ C_2 - C_3\,V$.

It is to be pointed out here that Tolkāppiyam has referred to the occurrence of one of the two consonant sequences in the word final position as *īrorru* (S.51) which is as the same as the term for three consonant sequences. The word under discussion is *ponm* 'similar-it' found in poetry and derived from the word *pōlum*. Here the two consonant sequence forms part of a single syllable and so the term *īrorru* is appropriately used in Tolkāppiyam (S.51).

The description of sequence restriction might have been influenced by the writing system in Tamil, where, like other Indian languages, there are pure vowels, consonants and syllabic letters which are the combination of a consonant and a vowel. However, the discussion of the consonant sequences in two different sections and the term used for the three consonant sequences in general and in particular two consonant sequence which functions as a coda reveals the awareness of the concept of the syllable and the correct description of Tamil syllabic structure.

2. Relationship Between *Eluttu* and *Moli*

The relationship between *eluttu* and *moli* are described in two ways, viz., i) how *eluttu* constitutes a word and ii) how a word is classified on the basis of *eluttu*.

a. *Eluttu* to *Moli*

There are two sutras (S.43 and 44) about how *eluttu* constitutes a word. In both the sutras, the terms used are *netteluttu* 'long letter' and *Kurreluttu* 'short letter' and they are same as that of the terms used for the classification of vowels (S. 3, 4). That means, the vowels alone are considered to constitute a monomorphemic word.

S. 43 says that the seven long vowels constitute a word of one *eluttu*. Exx. *ā* 'cow', *ī* 'fly' etc. Since the long vowel *au* does not occur as a word in Tamil, the commentators have explained that the long vowels here includes the syllabic letters also. That is, the words like *tā* 'give' *pō* 'go'. *kau* 'catch by teeth' are to be considered as words of one *eluttu*. If so, the *eluttu* here means the syllable and *ōreluttu orumoli* 'a word of one *eluttu*' means monosyllabic monomorphemic word. This is from the positive point of view.

The next sutra describes negatively by saying that the five short vowels do not constitute a word. However, the commentators have pointed out that there are two short monosyllabic monomorphemic words in Tamil, viz. *tu* 'eat' and *no* 'suffer'. But the analysis of all the related forms of these two words reveals that the base forms are really *tuy* and *nō* respectively (for details, see, Shanmugam 1980: 167-8) and

so they cannot be considered short monosyllabic words.

It is clear from the above discussion that Tolkāppiyam here refers to the monomorphemic words of mono-open syllable only (V and CV) and not mono-closed syllables which can be VC, CVC, VC and CVC.

b. *Moḻi* to *Eḻuttu*

S. 45 discusses the classification of words, viz. i) words of one *eḻuttu*, ii) words of two *eḻuttus* and iii) words of more than two *eḻuttus* or words of poly *eḻuttus*. Here *eḻuttu* is taken to mean two different senses by the commentators. Iḷampūraṇar, the first commentator (10th cent.), gives the following examples:

ā 'cow'	- word of one *eḻuttu*
maṇi 'bell'	- word of two *eḻuttus*
varaku 'millet'	
koṟṟan 'name of a person'	- Words of more than two *eḻuttus*

Therefore, *eḻuttu* here can be considered to mean the graphemes which include pure vowels, pure consonants and syllabic letters. But Naccinārkkiniyar has specifically mentioned in his commentary that the consonants and the shorter *uṯ* should not be considered as *eḻuttu* here because they are not counted as *eḻuttu* in the prosody even according to Tolkāppiya sutras in the section of prosody in the third chapter, *poruḷatikāram* and also because the consonants and the shorter *uṯ* are prohibited to constitute a word according to the previous two sutras. The examples given by Naccinārkkiniyar are as follows:

ā 'cow' *kā* 'groove' *nā* 'tongue'	- Words of one *eḻuttu*
maṇi 'bell' *varakuṯ* 'millet' *koṟṟan* 'name of a person'	- Words of two *eḻuttus*
kuruvu 'a tree' *aravu* 'snake'	- Words of three *eḻuttus*
kanaviri 'a flower'	- Word of four *eḻuttus*
akattiyaṉār 'name of a person	- Word of five *eḻuttus*
tiruccirrampalam 'name of a town'	- Word of six *eḻuttus*
perumparrappuliyūr name of a town'	- Word of seven *eḻuttus*

The above illustrations also confirm his view that *eḻuttu* is taken to mean the syllable.

The later day scholars do not accept this interpretation of Naccinārkkiniyar because of certain inconsistencies in his commentary (for detail, see Shanmugam 1980:170) and contradiction to the usage of Tolkāppiyam elsewhere. Tolkāppiyam in S. 407 mentions the classification of words occurring with shorter *uṯ* on the basis of *eḻuttu*. Here, the words are classified into two viz. i) words of two *eḻuttus* and ii) words of poly *eḻuttus* and they are further classified on the basis of *eḻuttu* preceding the final syllable - For example,

nāṭuṯ 'country'	- Word of two *eḻuttus*

varakuį 'millet'
pākkuį 'arecanut'
vāṅkuį 'bend'
teḷkuį 'flea'
e:kuį 'steel'

- Words of poly-*eḻuttus*

Here *varakuį* 'millet' is a trisyllabic word for us but it is disyllabic word for Naccinārkkiniyar. All other words are disyllabic for us and monosyllabic words for Naccinārkkiniyar. The difference is due to the treatment of shorter *uį* which is not considered as a syllable by Naccinārkkiniyar but is taken to constitute a syllable by us. Tolkāppiyam in the above sutra has taken nātuį as *īreḻuttu orumoḻi* 'word of two eḻuttus' and all others as words of poly*eḻuttus*.

So, it is clear that *eḻuttu* cannot be taken as a syllable as Naccinārkkiniyar does. However, Naccinārkkiniyar may be credited to advocate explicitly for the first time the concept of syllable in the Tamil grammatical tradition. However, his examples are not appropriate.

3. Elements of Poetry

Tolkappiyam, in the third chapter, discusses the elements of poetry in the section on prosody. Among them *māttirai* 'matra', *eḻuttu*, *acai*, and *cīr* are relevant for our discussion. Matras and *eḻuttus* are said to be same as explained above, i.e. in the first chapter. *Acais* are of two kinds with the following patterns:

(C) V (C)
(C) V̄ (C) - *nēr-acai*

(C)V CV(C)
(C)V CV̄(C) - *nirai-y-acai*

Here *nēracai* is nothing but the monosyllable and *niraiyacai* the disyllable. Here Tolkāppiyam has specifically mentioned that in the counting of *eḻuttu* in *acai*, non-vowels should be omitted (*Ceyyuḷiyal.* S.351). *cīr* can be interpreted as the poetic word, because the words of the ordinary language could be split due to the poetic exigency. However, the recognition of *acai* in between *eḻuttu* and *cīr* reveals the awareness of the concept of syllable but it cannot be equated with the concept of syllable in the linguistic sense because *acai* in poetry includes monosyllables and disyllables as noted above.

4. Conclusion

As pointed out in the introduction, Tolkāppiyam does not explain the concept of syllable explicitly. However, the three evidences discussed above imply some awareness of the concept of syllable. But Naccinārkkiniyar, a commentator of 14th century, was aware of the concept of syllable and he was of the opinion that a word is built out of syllables which are in turn built of phonemes. This means the syllable is a concatenative phonetic unit for Naccinārkkiniyar.

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A SURVEY OF TAMIL TALES

Carlos

The ancient Tamils like any other people, told stories during their leisure. But no collection of folktales of those days is available today. Yet we are not utterly ignorant of the folktales of antiquity. *Tolkāppiyam*[1] a treatise on Tamil letters, words and prosody, speaks of different varities of prose and there the author mentions about tales.[2] These tales, according to a scholar, might have fulfilled the functions of tales, like Panchatantra tales.[3] According to Pērāciriyar, a medieval commentator of *Tolkāppiyam*, these fictitious tales are narrated by maids and friends of the heroins of classical poems.[4] *Neṭunalvāṭai*, one of longer narrative poems of 'Ten Idyls' *(Pattupāṭṭu)* refers maids who narrate tales for the delight of the heroins.[5]

Certain anecdotes or elements of tales are referred to in Tamil literature. For example, *Naṟṟiṇai*, an anthology of ancient Tamil poems, recounts an episode where a ghost snatches away the child of a woman of graceful chastity.[6] *Cilappatikāram* narrates the story of seven women of higher qualities. Another woman named Thirumavunni who tears away the left breast, may be the proto-type of the character Kannagi, who is the heroin of *Cilappatikāram*, an important epic of the Tamils. A variant of Panchatantra tale is found in *Cilappatikāram*. This variant speaks of a Brahmin woman who by mistake kills a mangoose thinking it had eaten the child as its paws and muzzle are stained with blood although it had guarded the child from a snake by killing it. Naccinārkkiniyar, the commentator of *Tolkāppiyam* and *Vīracōḻiyam* mentions a tale about Buddha who offers himself to the lion that wanted to pray on its own cub.[7] Naccinārkkiniyar also mentions in his commentary a tale about a Brahmin who had to remove the carcass of a dead on as he was not in good terms with the village accountant.

The tales that have been embedded in these ancient poems are undoubtedly tales of oral narration; but these tales both in form and spirit are adapted according to the context and purpose of the author.

But, it is said that until nineteenth century, their has not been any collection of oral tales in Tamil.[8] Selvakesavaraya Mudaliar in his *Tamiḻ Viyāsaṅkaḷ*, has said that till we get the work *Avivēkaparipūrṇa katai* of Rev.Fr.Beschi in eighteenth century no collection of prose writing was found in Tamil.

Now it has come to light that

a Tamil book, *Flos Sanctorum* was written by a Portuguese Catholic missionary, Rev.Fr.H.Henriques. He is considered to be the first foreigner who had learned Tamil language and grammar, systematically. Fr.H.Henriques seems to have written three books of prose in Tamil and he is recognised as the "Father of Tamil Printing". The three books namely, *Small Catechism*, printed in Quilon (1578), *Big Catechism*, printed in Cochin (1579) and *Flos Sanctorum* printed in Punnaikayal (1586) are known to the Tamils as i) *Tampirāṉ Vaṇakkam* ii) *Kristiāṇi Vaṇakkam* and iii) *Flos Sanctorum.* Here we are particularly interested in *Flos Sanctorum.* This book contains the details about the liver of Catholic Saints with some feasts of the year. Here and there Fr.Henriques incorporates advices to the new converts of the coastal areas of Tamil Nadu. This book seems to be popular among Hindus in those days and this is borne out by a letter written to Rome in the year 1600 by Fr.Sebestian Goncalves, who says: "The books, are not only in the hands of Christians, but also in those of the Hindus in the interior, who are astonished about the good types and language and much more about the novelty of the things and hidden mysteries. From them the poets take the opportunity to magnify our things in verse and the actors take from them the material for devout representations, which they write in prose and not in verse as we do. The reason is, that they cannot say a thing in verse except singing and the representations would not be well understood, if they are sung, they write the tragedies in prose so that everyone may understand it better in that concise form". However, the importance of this book is brought out[9] in this quotation. The prose rendering of these lives of saints, no doubt, has influenced the natives is another point we note from this letter. But so far, we are not able to establish whether Rev. Fr.Beschi's book of fables, *Paramārttakurukataikaḷ* has been influenced by *Flos Sanctorum* of Rev. Fr.Henriques, as *Paramārttakurukataikaḷ* proves to be a very popular book of prose even today.

Rev. Fr.Beschi's *Paramārttakurukataikaḷ* deals with fictitious characters of both eastern and western tradition. This collection of tales numbering about eight, are said to be written between 1727-32. These eight tales are included in the collection, *Vinōtaracamañcari* with the title *Avivēkapūrṇakurukatai.* The point that it is an exemplary Tamil prose till nineteenth century is stressed by many scholars. These tales are translated into Kannada and Telugu.

Fr. Beschi is the author of many books. One of his important contribution is *Caturakarāti*, a dictionary for *Centamiḻ.* But a dictionary of spoken Tamil and Latin languages is another work of this missionary. Spoken Tamil is called *Koṭuntamiḻ.* All the tales of *Paramārttakurukatai* are in *Koṭuntamiḻ.* These tales are mostly numskull tales written as humourous pieces.

Though the aim of these tales are subjects of scholarly debates in Tamil, it is believed that these humourous stories are written in spoken Tamil to help foreigners to learn Tamil language easily.[10] Some of the tales included in this collection are identified as folktales from Tanjore District. The caste names that occur in these tales also enable one to infer that these

tales may have come from oral tradition of Tanjore District.

But Rev. Fr.V.M.Gnanapragasam, S.J., identifies the third tale of this collection with a tale of Aesop's fable. This tale which speaks of a *Paṭaiyācci* who is called to pass judgement on a case in which the guru, the main character, is asked to pay additional fare for being under the shade of the horse, as the horse is meant for riding alone. This tale is a variant of Aesop's fable. Another tale of a king who has been taxing his citizen even for passing urine as urine-tax is condemned by his own son. This tale is identified by Rev.V.M.Gnanapragasam, S.J. as one of the satiric tales by Vesbatian, who wrote satires on a king of Rome.[11]

These tales, according to Fr.Beschi, as we have come to know from the manuscripts of Tamil-Latin *Koṭuntamiḻ* dictionary, available in Paris, form the second part of Tamil-Latin dictionary. The first part is the dictionary of spoken Tamil and Latin.

Thus the purpose of the earliest Tamil prose narrative, (i.e., in the form of Christian legends) to propagate the views of Christianity, is different from the purpose of this collection of tales which is to educate Tamil language and grammar to foreigners. Of course, the secondary aim of such a book is to spread Christianity effectively through knowing the language of the land. The contention that Fr.Beschi has written these tales with an aim to denegrate native religion and their leaders is mainly putforth by native scholars.

We understand the main features of Beschi's tales from the following statement: "As one grafts a branch of a plant into the branch of another plant, I have joined different tales into one in order to make the tales interesting".[12] Thus it is known that tales of different languages and regions are used to retell new tales as to attract the attention of readers. This is not new, anyhow. In this context, we may quote a passage from the preface of the book *Hans Anderson, forty-two stories* which runs thus:

> "The foregoing survey leads me to discourse at rather more length upon Andersons indebtedness to the old folklore of his country. We see that he began by retelling stories that he heard as a child, though he very soon broke away from this and invented a genre of his own".[13]

Now it is apt to conclude that Fr.Beschi has retold stories in Tamil in the same way as Hans Anderson has done. But these ventures in the strict sense, do not belong to the field of folktale as folklore does not allow the researcher to modify the source material.

Vinōtaracamañcari, another important work of Tamil prose was published in 1876 by Veerasamy Chettiar as instructed by the Prof. of Oriental Literature of Presidency College, Madras, Rev. Percival. Another edition of this book was brought out by Pushparatha Chettiar in 1891. Prof. Anavarathavinayagam Pillai believes that Panchatantra tales and *Katāmañcari* have been brought out earlier that *Vinōtaracamañcari*. N.Vanamamalai says that the tales of Panchatantra have been extensively in vogue during

the period of Pallavas in Tamilnadu. Most of those tales have found a place in the sculpture of Pallava period.[14] So it is surmised that the tales of Panchatantra are said to be popular in Tamilnadu as early as sixth century A.D. But Vidwan Dhandava Mudaliar's is considered to be the first available prose translation of Panchatantra tales which have come from Marathi language into Tamil. The year of this translation is 1826. In the introduction to a much earlier work of Panchatantra composed in *viruttam* metre by Veeramarthanda Thevar, M.V. Venugopal Pillai mentions that the Panchatantra written in prose by Vidwan Dhandava Mudaliar is an important book of prose.[15]

Another venture in prose seems to be *Katāmañcari* of C.Manikka Mudaliar. The year of publication is 1873. This book has included *Mariyātairāman Kataikaḷ*, *Teṉālirāmaṉ kataikaḷ*, and *Appāji kataikaḷ*.

Emphasizing its contribution to Tamil Prose, Prof. Anavarathavinayagam Pillai writes:

> As all the books in Tamil are available in difficult verse *Vinōtaracamañcari* under the guidance of Rev.Percival, is written in easy prose in such a way it reaches not only the educated but also others".

Further when pointing out the faulty editions of this book he suggests that instead of learning correct prose style through *Vinōtaracamañcari* students tend to learn errors. Now it becomes clear that the intention of the author of *Vinōtaracamañcari* has been to write a book of prose. With this intention in mind, he includes anecdotes and other tales of interest in his book. But as Dr.Shanmugasundaram points out a tale from Aesop's fable has found a place in this book. Another tale resembling a folktale is found in this collection. Apart from these tales we find the inclusion of *Paramārttakurukatai* of Fr.Beschi, in this collection. The other parts of this book are devoted to essays, discussions and episodes from the lives of popular Tamil poets. Even in these prose rendering of episodes, one very often notices as many verses as possible. This proves that the influence of poetry over prose has been very strong even during the time of writing this book. This book aims to reach a newly formed Tamil reading public. One of many articles titled 'About Chastity' refers to women readers alone. The introduction of the first novel of Tamil language also points out that the prime aim of the novel was to contribute a prose work to Tamil language. In this context it is worthwhile to quote Rev. Fr. Winslow who in the year 1862, has mentioned about the state of Tamil prose; "Tamil language resembles English and German in some respects; but its prose is in the formative period . . . . Those who can compose verses spontaneously are unable to write prose even for a page, without errors.[16]

In this background let us survey the many tale collections printed in Tamil. As this phenomenon of bringing out tales in prose seems to be a recent venture in Tamil, we encounter both original tale collections of the people of the region and translations from other languages. A few collections said to be the compilations of tales spoken by Tamils are given as follows. As the aim of my paper is a struc-

tural exposition of a few folktales in two languages, I do not claim that all the collections published in Tamil are covered in my survey only those which are accessible have been dealt with.

Katāmañcari, a collection of seventy eight tales by Dhandavaraya Mudaliar is brought out by South Indian Shaiva Siddhanda publishing Society in the year 1951. But it is presumed that earlier editions of this book might have been published. The publisher of this collection claims to have rewritten the whole text to cope with times. Dhandavaraya Mudaliar has been a district judge and seems to have written Panchatantra tales into Tamil Prose. These tales are told not in the spoken form and the collector does not bother to give the sources of these tales. Neither the informants name nor age, caste or place of collection is provided to the student of folklore. Besides, these tales are not collected from the people of Tamilnadu and the stories of Tenaliraman are included. Dhandavaraya Mudaliar is believed to have had the knowledge of half a dozen languages and the possibility of getting as many tales as possible through translation is not ruled out.

Nāṭṭuppuṟakkataikaḷ, a collection of tales by K.Appadurai has been published by South Indian Shaiva Siddhanda Publishing Society. This collection also does not give the names of any informant. The first edition is said to have appeared in 1954. Only fine tales are included in this collection. The dialect of story tellers are deliberately neglected to maintain a 'chaste' Tamil style. Even the information whether these tales belong to literary tradition or oral tradition is lacking. The publishers claim to have published this work with an aim to cultivate good habits and behaviour in the minds of children. And the publisher points out that these tales are set against a backdrop of Tamil's history by the learned editor of this collection. This makes the collection undependable for a folklore researcher.

Another venture in this direction is the collection of tales of South India by S.A.Ramasamy Pulavar. He is the author of eight volume of tales with the title *Tennāttu Palaṅkataikaḷ*. The first four volumes appeared in the year 1957. The author of these volumes writes that the instructions given to him by the publisher are followed in collecting these tales; and instructions suggested are to substitute pure Tamil words for Sanskrit equivalents, to correct the prose style as to suit modern readers etc.

Further, the collector confesses that certain elements of narration found in many tales are reordered and he has selected the right ones. But no one knows the principles of his evaluation of stories. Another drawback which we find in this collection is that the author is not able to separate tales of different parts of the world along with local languages are given. No one tends to separate Telugu tales from Tamil and Kannada or Malayalam tales. In total, these volumes are of little use to a serious folktale scholar. It is unfortunate that the compiler does not possess even the basic knowledge of the nature of folktales and their variants.

Ceṭṭiyārin tantirakkataikaḷ is a collection brought out by Aru. Ramanathan in the year 1958. Dr. Shanmugasundaram believes that

these tales might have been published even before.

Another collection of tales is *Vetikkaikataikal* edited by Aru. Ramanathan, in the year 1958. These two collections neither give the details of the informants nor do they use dialects of the people who supplied these tales.

We find another four-volume collection of folktales collected by V.Govindan. The sources of these tales are not mentioned in the first edition published in 1964. The title of this book is *Palankālakkataikal*. From a critical study of various such collections one may form the opinion that this collection contains some of the genuine folktales of the Tamil folk. But even these volumes do not give details of the informant and other necessary particulars. The first of the four volumes contain a modern tale told for children. This tale explains how two children Rama and Sarasu help police to apprehend a thief.

V.Govindan brings together again a few tales entitled *Tamilnāttuppalankataikal* in the year 1965. The author provides an introduction to this book. Here luckily the sources of these tales are given. These tales are collected from old magazines and reprinted in this book. But although the informants or story tellers of these tales are not known, the collectors requests the readers of this book to collect and publish the tales whenever they hear the villagers narrate them. We understand that V.Govindan is aware of the importance of collection of folktales from villagers. All the tales of this collection bear the mark of genuine folktales. This book carries seven tales and the first-three tales are taken, according to the foot notes; from 'Vivekabhodini', a Tamil journal. The other four tales are not provided with any foot-note to know their sources. Even some poems are interspersed in these tales, narrated in prose. These tales, like the other collections, are not printed in the dialect of the people.

K.Rajanarayanan's *Tamilnāttunātōtikkataikal* carries a publisher's note which is written by an eminent folklorist of Tamilnadu, N.Vanamamalai. He exhorts to those who are interested in the cultural history of the Tamils to collect the tales and preserve them. In the introduction, the collection K.Rajanarayanan classifies these tales into four; tales narrated when people sit in groups, tales told among two individuals, tales toled by a male and a female when they are alone and the tales narrated among children. This collector suggests in the introduction that bringing out such tales is the duty of Tamil creative writers. This collector notes that only after reading the tales of Boccacio's *Decameron*, has he thought that the tales prevalent among his villagers are worth collecting. K.Rajanarayanan is a popular creative writer in Tamil is a point which enables one to understand his aims. Although the collector provides these tales in a spoken form, he uses this style selectively. True to be a creative writer, he uses dialect only when characters speak to each other. A study of these tales reveals that they are polished by this collector for a smooth reading. Another feature is that unlike the earlier collectors, K.Rajanarayanan mentions some of the names of informants. But again the student of folktale is not lucky to know

the full details like caste, age and place of these informants. This collection contains forty five tales and the year of publication is 1965. The resolution passed in the Literary Conference of the State branch of Communist party of India, in the year 1960, has enabled the New Century Book House Pvt. Ltd. to publish this collection. This collection is important as it pays attention to field work, although unsystematic.

The two collections of tales made by Pandit S. Natesa Sastry, in 1886 under titles, *Tirāviṭa mattiyakāla Kataikaḷ* and *Takkāṇa Pūrva Kataikaḷ* are not within our access. But with Pandit S.Natesa Sastry's introduction of one of these books, Sirancheevi later brought out a selection of thirty seven tales. This book *Tirāviṭa nāṭṭukkataikaḷ* (1958) contains tales retold in a style preferred by the editor. He also claims that he has corrected certain parts of these tales and they represent the Dravidian languages. Anyhow this collection is not an authentic work of a scholarly collector.

Another unsuccessful collection of folktales is Pulavar Ira. Ilankumaran's *Tamil nāṭṭuppalaṅkataikaḷ.* This book contains all sorts of tales, anecdotes and modern jokes. For example, let us give the gist of a tale. Two young boys who are studying in a school quarrelled on the issue, "Whose father is the greatest writer?." Then they have started giving reasons for proving their points. One boy argues that his father is the greatest writer as no one can read his writings. The other one retorts telling his father is the greatest writer as he himself cannot read what he writes. Such jokes are included in this collection without discrimination. The book has a section of Birbal tales too. The year of the first publication of this book is 1974.

Sterling publishers (Pvt) Ltd., has brought out the English translation of Tamil folktales collected by K.A.Seethalakshmi. Even this collector does not follow the basic guidelines of a scientific folktale collection. The title of this book is *Folktales of Tamilnadu* (1969).

Some of the recent folktale collections are K. Rajanarayanan's *Tamil Natu Kirāmiyakkataikal,* Veera Velusamy's *Tamil Nāṭṭu Ciṟuvar Nāṭōṭi Kataikaḷ* and K.Krishnasamy's *Koṅku Nāṭṭuppurakkataikaḷ.* The year of publications are 1977, 1979 and 1980 respectively. The collection of K.Rajanarayanan carries forty nine tales. In the introduction K.Rajanarayanan talks of the pains of a creative writer and hence it is not wrong to guess that the whole venture has been viewed by this collector as the work of a creative writer. This idea of collection of tales does not make him to learn the scientific methods of harvesting folktales. Following his earlier collection, here also he gives the names of the various informants, but he does not preserve the dialect of those informants in the collection. Irrespective of the different informants, the tales are written in a uniform style through out this collection. For example, the informant Kumari. T.Mankai's dialect and the informant Poomani's dialect may not be the same as both of them belong to different regions and castes (The information of these two informants are collected by me). But these tales (this collector has not recorded the tales using tape recorder is another defect of this collection) should be printed

in their own dialects. Only then a scholar who wants to undertake a study of the style of tales will be rewarded by this collection. One doubts that the themes supplied by the informants are worked up into tales of the collector's choice. A little knowledge about the methods of collection of folktales would have helped this collector to overcome many inadequacies.

Let us scrutinize the collection of Veera. Velusamy. A study of these tales would confirm that most of the genuine Tamil folktales are found in this collection. This book contains twenty two tales. The inadequacies of the previous collections are found in this collection too. Neither the names of the persons from whom these tales are reported, nor the dialect of various districts of Tamilnadu are preserved in this collection. Any folktale collection which claims to contain tales of Tamilnadu is expected to preserve the dialects of various districts. The narration of these tales also follow the method adopted by K.Rajanarayanan. Conversations are reported in standard dialect, let alone the genuine dialect. The narrative part is in usual prose. This book is a publication of Akaram publishers to mark the International Year of Children which shows that the publication is not motivated by any interest in folkloristics. The baffling question is why this collector who has faithfully followed the collector mentioned above (K.Rajanarayanan) with regard to narrative aspects of tales, does not follow even faulty method of mentioning informants' names. This shows the collector's lack of interest and awareness in the field of collection.

K.Krishnasamy's collection of folktales, *Koṅku nāṭṭupurakkataikaḷ* is commendable in many respects. This book has twenty eight tales. The names of informants of all the tales are reported alongwith their villages. Another enthusiastic feature of this collection is the preservation of the dialect of Coimbatore district of Tamilnadu, from where almost all the tales are reported to be collected.

But still this collection too is not free from methodological errors. An authentic folklore collection prints the tales with the name of informants not excluding the informations about caste, religion, age, sex and addresses of the informants. Unfortunately this collector has not provided these informations in this collection. But it is gratifying to note that this collector has refrained from the temptation of employing his own narrative skill. He has truthfully given the tales as they are told. But these texts of tales are not printed as they are recorded in a tape recorder. This leads the collector to use literary prose style. Even one has to doubt whether these tales are recorded. No information about the method of collection is reported in the rather lengthy introduction written by the collector. One is eager to know the principles adopted in selecting and deleting tales; the collector nevertheless mentions that these tales are subjected to selection and a few are deleted from the book.

Another collection of folktales which is uncontaminated and authentic is done by a post-graduate student of Kerala University, Sinthikayal. This collection represents folktales of Kulithurai of Kanyakumari District, Tamilnadu. This collection forms part of a thesis, ***Kulitturai-***

vaṭṭāra nāṭṭuppuṟakkataikaḷ or *Amaippiyal āyvu*, submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the M.A.Degree in Tamil, in the year 1978. This is highly commendable collection of tales has given the social, caste, religious and age background of all the informants. A chapter on the socio-economic background alongwith the special characteristic features of Kuḻithurai, a bilingual area on the border of Tamilnadu and Kerala in Kanyakumari District, is given. The informants are the grandfather, mother, mother's sister, the elder sister and two younger brothers of the collector. The predominant castes of this area are Nadar and Nayar. The less prominent castes are Ezhavar, Asari, Panikkar, Chettiar, Vellala and scheduled castes.

Another notable feature of this collection of hundred and eleven tales is that the spoken dialect of this bilingual area is well preserved in this collection. Even care is taken to point out the peculiar pronunciation of certain words which are generally unknown to other areas of Tamil Nadu. An ordinary Tamil reader may not understand most of the sentences of the texts of this collection. The peculiarity of this bilingual dialect with many Malayalam words and sentence formations is preserved with extreme care. This has to be appreciated very much by folktale scholars.

But even in this collection errors are not rare. The collector fails to give the names of persons who have told the tales, under each tale. One may not know precisely the informants of each tale although names of informants are provided in total.

We have seen a few Tamil folktale collections thus far. A survey of Tamil folktale collection would not be complete unless one takes into account of the various literary tales. According to Stith Thompson, the term 'folktales' include both literary narratives and oral tales. Thompson considers that the various derivatives of *Panchatantra* and *Thousand and One Night* are literary tales. He includes *Tales of Vampire* and *Jataka Tales* too in this category.

Although Thompson justifies the inclusion of literary tales into folktales he nevertheless acknowledges the differences between literary tales and oral tales. He observes: "They differ somewhat in their behaviour, it is true, but they are alike in their disregard of originality of plot and of pride of authorship."[17] Thompson is also the opinion that the literary tales and folktales influence each other. He notes: ". . . indeed, their interrelation is so close and so intricate as to present one of the most baffling problems the folklore scholars encounters".[18]

These two statements of Stith Thompson who devoted major part of his career in folktale research, is of great importance. He points out that some tales have been taken down from the lips of unlettered tale tellers and have entered the literary collections. In contrary fashion, fables of Aesop and fairy tales of Perrault and Grimm have entered the oral streams and all their association with the written or printed page has been forgotten. Frequently a tale is taken from the people, recorded in a literary document, carried across continents or preserved through centuries and then retold to an entertainer or a tale teller who adds it to his repertory. Thus the intricate relation of these type of tales--the literary

tales and oral tales require a scholar to investigate both the literary tales as well as oral tales, in order to get a satisfactory assessment of the folktale of the region.

After making a survey of oral tales in Tamil it becomes necessary for us to survey the literary tales current among the people of Tamilnadu.

The tales of *Vikramātitian* on tales of *Vikram* are very popular in Tamil. In a preface to the book, *Vikram and the Vampire* or *Tales of Hindu Devilry* of Sir Richard F.Burton, the editor Isabel Burton writes:

> "The Baital-Pachisi, or Twenty five tales of a Baital is the history of a huge Bat, Vampire, or Evil spirit which inhabited and animated dead bodies. It is an old and thoroughly Hindu Legend composed in Sanskrit, and is the gem which culminated in the Arabian Nights and which inspired the "Golden Ass" of Apuleius, Boccacio's "Decamerone", "the Pentamerone" and all that class of facetious fictitious literature".[19]

Many editions of these tales are available in Tamil. According to Dr.Shanmugasundaram, the edition published in 1871 might be the earliest in Tamil. Subsequent editions of these tales have been published by many.

Mariātai rāman katai is another cycle of tales woven around a single character. This tale-cycle is also called *Katācintāmaṇi*. The first edition of this tale-cycle seems to have appeared in the year, 1873, by C.Manikka Mudaliar. Some other editions are also available in Tamil. It is surmised that these tales might have come from Telugu. But these tales are available in Kannada. As for the story, there will be usually a dispute and it will be referred to the character Mariathai Raman, who is at the court alongwith the king and at the end, dispute is settled ingeniously by Mariyathai Raman.

The fables of Aesop are also popular in Tamil. These fables are said to have come from Greek and the life of the author Aesop, like other Greek poets are involved in obscurity. Sardis, the capital of Lydia, Samos, a Greek island and Mesembria, an ancient colony in Thrace contend for the distinction of being the birthplace of Aesop. Aesop is by an almost universal consent supposed to have been born in the year 620 B.C., as a slave. He was owned by two masters in succession. Many unauthentic and false life histories of Aesop are available, according to Rev. Geo. Fyler Townsend, M.A.[20]

The knowledge of these tales rapidly spread from Italy into Germany and their popularity was increased by the favour given to them by the supporters of Reformation who used them as vehicles of satire. Martin Luther is said to have translated twenty of these fables. In the year 1844, the fact that the available tales were from the collection of Babrias, was established as new manuscripts of Babrias' Aesoipian Fables were found. Rev.Geo. Fyler Townsend's translation of three hundred Aesop's Fables from Greek are selected from the editions of George Cornewall Lewis and other collections like Mythylogia Aesopica of the year 1610.

There are a few collections

of fables of Aesop in Tamil. But the sources of these translations are not known. Sixty of these tales are brought in six volumes by Shaiva Siddhantha Kazhakam. The fables are retold by a group of authors, whose names are not given. The editorial note observes that these tales are brought out in Tamil in order to teach moral instructions to children. Here the tales are not translated by the editors but retold in Tamil giving a suitable introductory paragraph and detailed descriptions throughout the tale. At the end of each fable is given a maxim. For example, the tale "The Dog and the Shadow" is told in eight lines in the edition of Rev. Geo. Fyler Townsend. But the Tamil fable of this heading spreads to about one and a half pages. Another notable difference of these fables is that in the English fable the Dog which looks at the water finds another Dog with a piece of meat double his own in size. Tamil fables speak of the Dog which carries bone and not meat, looks at water finds another Dog with a bone of its size. This Dog opens his mouth and loses the bone, whereas the other fable mentions that the Dog attacks the shadow of the Dog seen in the water. The differences of these tales require a full length study.

These Tamil rendering of Aesop fables are published in 1952. Another hundred and fifty fables have been published by A.L.Natarajan in 1969. M.S.Arulsamy also brought out an edition of Aesop Fables which carry two hundred and sixty fables.[21]

Another cycle of tales called *Tenāli Rāman* tales are very popular in Tamilnadu. An edition of these tales appeared in the year 1955. Dr.M.Varadarajan wrote an introduction and Ramiah brought out this collection. Again in 1958, another collection by Aru. Ramanathan has been printed. K.M.Bakthavatsalam has brought together some tales in the year 1976. In this collection a short note about Thenali Raman is given. According to this note, Thenali Raman seems to have lived in Andhra during the period of Vijayanagara Kings. This collection carries forty six tales. Sampantham has published another edition of these tales in 1968 through Vanathi publishers. These tales have been serialised in the Children's magazine Kannan. These various editions differ in their rendering and narration of tales.

Matana Kāma rājan tales are said to be printed in nineteenth century.[22] In 1958, Aru. Ramanathan seems to have printed an edition of these tales in modern Tamil prose. In 1977, M.S.Bharatan has published these tales through Poompugar publishers. This edition carries thirteen tales.

Another cycle of tales popular in Tamilnadu is the *Tales of Thousand Nights and One Night.* A Tamil edition of these tales is said to be printed in the year 1957 by A.L.Natarajan. Another important edition of these tales are brought out by Mullai Muthiah in the year 1976. This edition carries sixty nine tales. This book is published by Vanathi publishers. M.S.Bharatan who has rendered these tales in Tamil in the year 1977, says that the first systematic publication of these tales has been done by Marisamy. This edition carries the introduction of Dr.Suneeth Kumar Chatterji.

The *Rāyar appāji* tales printed in 1958 by N.Palaniyappan needs

mention. Aru. Ramanathan also has printed an edition of these tales in the year 1958. This volume contains eighteen tales.

Other translations of tales that have appeared in Tamil language are the *Tales of Soviet Russia* (1974), *Mulla Nazrutheen tales, Armenian Folktales* etc.,

From the survey of Tamil tales both oral and literary, we may come to the following observations.

1. The oral folktale collections are not the fruit of folkloristic awareness of collectors and field research. They are compiled in order to fulfil the need of reading public or to impart moral lessons to children. In this respect, editors and publishers seldom care the authenticity of the style, diction, narration and other details of tales.

2. The collectors are not trained folklorists except two collectors, K. Krishnasamy and Sinthikayal. Even their collections, though commendable in many respects are not free from inadequacies.

3. Most of these collections, even those published recently, follow the ethos of the collections of nineteenth century and the aim of which was to enrich the genre of Tamil prose. Both the literary tales and oral tales are brought out with the same motive. And as such the same principles of editing and collection are followed in both these types of tales.

NOTES

1. This book is considered to be the earliest work in Tamil. It is not only a grammar of the Tamils of that time but also a work of rhetoric. The date of this book is controversial. Tolkāppiyar is believed to be the author of this work.

2. The line 'Porulotupunarāppoymoli' indicates that there is a prose which speaks of 'lies' which is interpreted by commentators of Tolkāppiyam, like Ilampūranar as folktales which are fictitious. It is interesting to note that many story tellers all over the world call these stories as lies in as much as Tolkāppiyar who calls these tales poymoli (a word of lie). Lind Degh says:

   "They (tales) are believed to be fictitious, and are cited as lies by story tellers and commentators, who mean that tales are the creation of human phantasy. Let's lie urged an Crish storyteller on a competition, and a Russian storyteller boasted that he was a renowned lier who could fill three sacks with lies."

   See Degh, Linda, 'Folk narrative' in *Folklore and Folklife An Introduction*, ed.Richard M.Dorson, University of Chicago press, London 1973. P.60.

3. Sundarraj, Joseph, *A Critical Study of Fr.Beschi's Paramārthakuruvin Katai*, (Unpublished Ph.D., thesis in Tamil), submitted to Madurai Kamaraj University, Madurai, 1979.

4. Pērāciriyar's Commentary on *Tolkāppiyam*, See *Sūtram* 487.

5. *Neṭunalvāṭai* (Tamil); lines 153-154.

6. "Mācu il karpin maṭavōḷ Kuḷavi Pēy vāṅka kaiviṭṭāṅku."

7. Sivasubramanian, A. *Cirukataikku-viṭṭiṭṭavar* (Tamil) published by the author, Tamil Department, V.O.C. College, Tuticorin.

8. Sivasubramanian, A. and Dr.M.Varadarajan are of this opinion. They speak of this respectively in their books *Cirukataikku viṭṭiṭṭavar* (Tamil) and *Tamil ilakkiya varalāṟu* (Tamil) Paari Nilayam, Madras.

9. Rajamanickam, S.J. (ed.) *Flos Sanctorum* (Tamil) Tamil Literary Society, Tuticorin, 1967. Preface.

10. Sundarrajan, Joseph, *A Critical Study of Fr. Beschi's Paramārttakurukatai* (Tamil), An unpublished Ph.D., thesis submitted to Madurai Kamraj University, Madurai, 1979.

11. Gnanapragasam, V.M.Fr, *The Contribution of Father Beschi to Tamil,* Unpublished Ph.D., thesis, Madras University, Madras 1965.

12. Beschi; Fr. *Paramārttakuruvinkatai* introduction to Beschi. Viramamunivar ayvukkalakam. Tuticorin.

13. James, M.R. (trs.) *Hans Anderson Forty-two stories,* Faber and Faber, London. P.14.

14. Vanamamalai, N, *Araaichi* (Tamil Monthly), Palayamkottai, Tamilnadu, 1977.

15. I am grateful to Prof.Dr.Chidhanandamoorthy for drawing my attention to a great scholar of Panchatantra tales, Mr. A.Venkatasubbiah who has written an elaborate article on 'A Tamil version of the Panchatantra'.

    See Adayar Library Bulletin. Vol.xxix (1965). Another great contribution to the study of *Panchantantra* is a doctoral dissertation by Dr.Varadaraja Huyilagola. This was later published. This book refers to a Panchatantra Tamil version called 'Panchatantra Vachnam'. Dr.Varadaraja Huyilagola suggests that this book is based on Tantropakhyan of Vasubhagabhatta. This book seems to be in Saroboji Mahal Library of Tanjore.

    See Huyilagola, Varadaraja, Dr, *Dwegasimhana Panchatantra Sameekshe,* Sahitya Bhandar, Hubli, 580020. 1976. p.50.

16. Winslow, M. *Tamil and English Dictionary,* Madras. 1862.

17. Thompson, Stith. *The Folktale,* University of California Press, London, 1977. p.5.

18. *Ibid.*

19. Richard, Burton. F, *Vikram and the Vampire, or Tales of Hindu Devilry.* Dover Publications, New york, 1969. p.xi.

20. Townsend, Fyler, Rev.Geo, *Three Hundred Aesop Fables,* George Routledge and Sons Ltd; London. p.xxviii.

21. Shanmugasundaram, Dr. *Nāṭṭupuṟailakkiya Varalāṟu,* Manivasagar Noolagam, Chidambaram, Tamilnadu 1980.

22. *Ibid.* p.82.

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THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY IN THE TAMIL COUNTRY IN THE 19TH CENTURY: A CRITICAL STUDY

P. Subramanian

The Textile Industry in the Tamil Country was at its zenith in the 17th and 18th Centuries. Many, both Indian and Foreign, have acclaimed the excellence and splendour of fabrics that were manufactured in the Tamil Country. They were exported to many foreign countries, especially to England in large quantities. As the English people were mad after such goods, many an English man was jealous of their popularity and complained that they had "crept into our houses, our closets and bed chambers; curtains, cushions, chairs, and at last beds themselves were nothing but calicos or Indian stuffs". The British Government, in order to foster their industries had to enact a number of laws in 1700, 1720 and 1721 to prohibit the influx of Indian goods. The restrictions that were imposed. on them had greatly curtailed the Indian industries. But the laws proved of little or no avail against the prodigious importation of cheap and splendid Indian handloom goods. Since there was a great demand for such goods, the company in order to encourage this industry formed weavers colonies near their settlements, advanced money to the leading merchants and exported them to many foreign countries. Under its patronage, the industry grew leaps and bounds. But the industrial revolution totally upset the trade. Due to lack of demand, the patronage was withdrawn and the industry declined.

Internal feuds and conflicts that were due to the British domination also greatly hampered the free growth of textile industry. There were occasions when this industry was completely suspended due to political turmoil and incessant wars. A close study of a commercial despatch from England will testify to the fact that the third Mysore War (1792) had greatly upset the weaving industry. The company's annual investment of piece goods which was 16 lakhs of *pagodas* (56 lakhs of rupees) in 1790 was only 12 lakhs in 1796 owing to the war which had greatly disrupted the internal trade and production.[1]

After the fourth Mysore War, the company became paramount and subsequently internal trade gained momentum. The report of External Commerce (1805) reveals that there was brisk trade between India and England, and as a result the piece goods worth about Rs. 29,99,721 were exported.[2] It is a fact that any industry could not thrive on external trade alone. Equally or more important than external trade was internal which alone would

sustain any industry as foreign trade would cease after sometime. Other than goods exported, internal consumption of cotton goods could have been considerable. Dodwell, an authority on weaving industry considers the proportion of the exports to total production at 1:10.[3] If his estimate is accepted, the internal consumption of cotton goods would be about 75 million rupees. Even if it is reduced to half, as Sarada Raju arques its worth would not be less than 30 million rupees. This indicates that cotton manufactures were very extensive even at the beginning of the 19th century.

It is really amazing to note that for such an industry of great repute, the implements used were very crude and primitive. Elijah Hoole who saw it in 1829, was simply wonder struck. He says: "the instruments they use for cleaning, loosening and spinning the cotton are remarkable for their ingenuity and simplicity". Equally amazed was another contemporary traveller Tennant, who in his accounts points out "in the manufacture of fine muslin, in which they excel all the world, the wheel, the reel and the loom are of a simple and artless structure. Yet the work produced cannot be equalled by European machinery aided by every effort of ingenuity and skill".[4] Even for printing they used very simple implements like a few bamboos for holding the cloth, a few potsherds to mix the colours, a few hallow stones for pounding them and a few brushes. Another traveller Abbe Dubois who was also greatly impressed by the skill and craftsmanship of the weavers writes: "The beautiful fabrics are manufactured in wretched thatched huts built of mud, 20 to 30 feet long by 7 to 8 feet broad. In such a room, the weaver stretches his frame, squats on the ground and quietly plies his shuttle surrounded by his family, his cow and his fowls".[5]

In the Tamil Country, from epigraphical and other sources it is known that every industry of note had its own guild to regulate and promote its growth. Particularly, the guild system was very strong among weavers owing to their unity and huge investment made in their trade. Place, the Collector of Jaqire, who had close association with this industry says "owing to the exigencies of the investment, they often succeeded too well".[6] To them, "the usual way of ventilating a grievance was to summon an assembly of the craft and suspend operations or send petition to the authorities".[7] This was because, they were often oppressed by the dealers of the company who were extremely avaricious. Once they received advance from such dealers, they became slaves to them and were not permitted to sell their goods to any, other than the dealers from whom they received advance. As they were indebted to the dealers, they were bound to work only for them. As they could not clear their debts owing to their poverty, they were the perptual slaves of the company and its dealers.

The plight of such weavers was far from satisfactory as they were always in debt despite the great demand for their labour. Some attribute their poverty to their lazy and lethargic way of life which made them spend on "dissipation and idleness till necessity again calls for the exertion".[8] This is only one side of the coin. As Sarada Raju rightly pointed out their work was so prosy and arduous that some kind of diversion and amusement

was probably needed.[9] Even this could not be generalised. Even among them they were many who were very opulent and prudent. However, the main difficulty with regard to this community was uncertain condition of their industry. They would be the first to be affected by any war or calamity. The company which was very oppressive favoured them so long it needed their labour and goods. After the industrial revolution, India became a market for the machine made products of great Britain and consequently Company's trade in India dwindled. Their factories were closed down one by one and finally the Board of Trade which was responsible for the company's trade was also abolished in 1824. With this, the Weaving Industry in the Tamil Country was reduced to a great strait. The Foreign investments on Indian Cotton goods ceased and subsequently the predominance of the textile industry became a thing of the past.

The plight of the weavers became so pathetic that the Board of Revenue in 1818, initiated an inquiry which revealed the fact that the loss of patronage was the main cause of their misery but the company was convinced that the loss of official patronage might be compensated by the growing prosperity of the country by other means like commercialisation of Indian agriculture and partial industrialisation. The Board thus felt complacent and concluded that the "increased demand for cotton and consequent benefit to the great agricultural population of the country would to a certain extent, counterbalance any decreased demand for particular sorts of cloth or injury to the less numerous body of manufacturers and further that when an advantageous market was still to be found for the manufacturers of India, private and native merchants would not be wanting to take up the trade relinquished by the company. Whatever temporary inconveniences therefore, the people might sustain from the abolition of the factories in quesiton, we were of opinion, would in time be obviated by private merchants in all cases where the trade might actually be advantageous, where it might be the contrary, the evils suffered by the manufacturers or by the company as their rulers could not be effectually remedied by the company as merchants continuing to force an unprofitable trade; but only by their endeavouring to open the markets of the continents to their subjects here and consequently turn what is at present an unprofitable into a profitable speculation".[10]

The Government expected that the prosperity of the peasantry would lead to the affluence of the weaving community. But they did not practise what they preached. The policy of the Company continued to be oppressive and consequently the weavers groaned under the dead weight of oppressive taxation which almost ruined them. On manufactured piece goods a duty of 5% was imposed. Besides a duty of 5% on the raw material, 7 1/2% on yarn, 2 1/2% on the manufactured article and another 2 1/2% in the cloth dyed outside the place of its manufacture or in all 17 1/2% was imposed.[11] On the other hand British piece goods were exempted from such oppressive taxes. They paid only a nominal duty of 2 1/2% only. Good and sympathetic Officers like Weston, Master Attendant at Cuddalore were in favour of removing additional taxes so as to enable

the Indian Weavers to "enter into more equal competition in the market with those from the united Kingdom". The Board, which did not want to lose its revenue, turned down the suggestion.[12]

As already mentioned, in 1824 the board of trade was abolished and with it many factories of the Company were closed. But the Board of Revenue was very optimistic and were of the view that "Whatever temporary inconvenience might be experienced by the weavers we do not apprehend any serious or permanent injury to the prosperity of the country from the abolition of the factories".[13] The Board of Revenue was wrong in its estimate. The weavers in almost all districts were affected as the closure of factories "inflicted a fearful blow" on them. Abbe Dubois who was an eye witness to it and pitied the weavers and said misery and desolation prevailed everywhere and thousands of weavers died of hunger in different parts of the country.[14] Many of them, out of despair and disappointment migrated to Ceylon, Burma and Mauritius.

In 1844, an inquiry initiated by the Board of Revenue to assess the collection of Moturpha on loom tax throws much light on weaving industry. The weaver used "to be sought and humoured by advances and good payment, now, though he seeks the trader and volunteers to work for reduced hire, he meets frequent disappointment, the merchant declining to embark capital in a sinking trade".[15] Due to economic depression, there was no demand for their products. The peasants who were reduced to poverty had no means to buy their products. The price fell from Rs.6 per piece in 1815 to Rs.3-8-0 in 1844 and the profit of the weaver from 1 or 2 rupees to 8 or 4 annas.[16] At Madurai and at other weaving centres, the weavers were thrown out of employment. The Collector of Madurai reported that "very many families of the 5,800 weavers in Madura town alone have not means to take more than one meal of rice a day."[17] The weavers of North Arcot as the Collector of North Arcot says due to unfavourable situation and depression more than 60% of them were in debt.[18] In other districts, also weaving was no longer lucrative.

In the latter part of the 19th century things changed rapidly from bad to worse. In addition to foreign machine made goods, frequent famines wrought untold havoc to the weavers.[19] The sad plight of them had compelled the Government of Madras to Institute an inquiry to assess the condition of weavers in detail. The Board which conducted the inquiries twice, one in 1871 and the other in 1890 came to the conclusion that the Chief cause of the decline of the industry was the competition with the mill industry. In 1871, the number of looms at work was nearly 2,80,000 or nearly 42% higher than the number at work between 1856-57 and 1860-61[20] as ascertained for the purpose of assessing the old Moturpha tax. The returns for the entire years were considered to be imperfect and hence the Board fixed the real increase at between 20 and 25% and felt the increase was due to the abolition of the Moturpha tax. In 1889 the number of looms at work was ascertained to be 3,00,000 exhibiting an increase since 1871 or 7% while the increase in population was 14%.[21] Srinivasaragavaingar calculated that the quantity of

twist worked up into cloth was estimated at 34 1/2 millions, an increase of a little less than 10% of which 19 millions were imported, 1 million was manufactured in the Indian mills and 14 1/2 millions were handmade.[22] Since 1871, the out turn of handmade yarn had therefore, diminished by 22 1/2 %. It is to be noted that while the handmade yarn had diminished 22 1/2 %, the dependence on weaving industry had increased 7% since 1871. From the above fact, it can be inferred that foreign trade and Indian mills had affected the old manufacturing industries and impoverished the classes engaged in them. Srinivasaragavaingar also accepts that "the spinning and weaving trades, especially, have suffered severely from foreign competition and the former as a separate profession is rapidly disappearing, what remain of it being confined to the spinning of fine thread for cloths of superior texture and extreme tenuity such as could not be produced by machinery and of coarse thread for the coarse thick cloths woven for the use of the lower classes of the agricultural population".[23]

Even in the 20th century, though weaving industry had lost its importance, it was still the primier industry next to agriculture. Srinivasaragavaingar in his memorandum submitted to the Government made an estimate of the total number of factories in the Madras Presidency in 1889-90. To him the total number of factories was 179 and the total number of people who worked in these factories was 14,565. The percentage was very negligible, i.e. the people who worked in factories were 4 out of 10,000. From this it can easily be inferred that even at the end of the 19th century, the people mainly relied either on agriculture or handloom industry for their livelihood. Severe famines that broke out now and then had been a serious source of distress which again induced the Board to conduct inquiries to know the real situation. The reports thus submitted to the Board by the various Collectors reveal the wretched condition of the people, especially the weavers. A.Wedderturn, the Collector of Coimbatore in his letter to the Board (1877) says large number of them were thrown out of employment and resorted to relief works. Since not used to such hard work, they often jarred their arms with pick-axes and blisterred their palms with *mometis*. The weaving was so unlucrative that they were forced to accept 2 annas for the mere means of existence on the relief works. In 1877, immediately after a famine, their condition became so distressing that advances were made to improve their condition. An amount of Rs. 8,77,761[24] was spent on their relief which totally was inadequate.

In 1883, the Board of Revenue, in order to assess the extent of dyeing conducted a survey in which we find some references about the weavers. C.D.Macleane, the Acting Collector of Salem, in his report said the weaving was gradually languishing and there was scarcely any dyeing in the district.[25] The Collector of Chingleput said, weaving had declined to a very great extent and dyeing was practised only in Trichinopoly town. Only 800 families were engaged in weaving and the rest had given it up as it was not profitable.[26] The Collectors of North Arcot, Madura, Tanjore and Trichinopoly also responded with similar note. Even in the middle

of the 19th century, weaving was carried on extensively in almost all districts. In 1883, when the survey was conducted only a small number in all the districts was dependant on it.[27]

On Seeing the reports of the Collectors, the Board of Revenue in 1884 appointed special officers to appraise the condition of the weaving community. The special officers, E.B.Havell, Edgar Thurston and Edwin Molder, in their reports brought out the deplorable condition of the weavers.

Havell, in his report (1884) says "The handloom industry which was formerly producing an abundance of silk and cotton cloths, satins, muslins, silver and gold lace etc. was now showing unmistakable signs of decline and decay. It was suffering much from the competition daily growing stronger of the cheap English cotton goods have being poured into the country.

Many weavers have, as a result, been forced to abandon their occupation for other pursuits. Formerly there were two kinds of white dhotis the first a plain dhoti with a narrow border of coloured cotton and sometimes with a broad hand woven across each end and secondly a superior dhoti of fine texture in which the borders were broader and of silk and generally embroidered with a simple pattern and the bands at each end where either of silk or of plain silver lace. The former is worn by the poorer classes while the latter is worn by the wealthier classes. The former has been now entirely superseded for general wear by English long cloth or by English mill made coarse dhotis both of which were much cheaper. The latter is coarse, still being manufactured but it is losing its hold on the people who are now buying for using it on ceremonial occasions. English mill made finer dhotis are also coming into market and because of their cheapness, driving out the finer varieties of handloom dhotis. Moreover, the spread of western dress is considerably hitting the weavers of the fine dhotis. Sarees are still being woven on a large scale but, here again cheap sarees are giving place to English and printed cottons. It is really a blessing that the European manufacturers have not yet produced anything that could not all compete with the fine handloom sarees of Tanjore, Kuttalam and other places. But even in the case of fine sarees, their characteristic beauty is now spoilt by the use of the yarn dyed with chemical dyes. The indigenous dyes which use to produce sober colours pleasing to the eyes are fast disappearing with the solitary exception of the famous Madurai red dye and hundreds of dyers have lost their occupation. Nor is this all. Almost all the yarn used for male as well as female cloths of finer quality is now entirely European and consequently the hand spinning industry has practically died out. The much renowned Arni Muslins and Bhavani turbans made of fine handspun yarn have become a thing of the past. So also has become a things of the past, the cotton printing industry (block printing as well as hand printing) which in olden days used to produce palempores (bed covers, screens & hand kerchiefs) of European reputation".[28]

The Tamil country was also renowned for its palempores and Chintzes, the term palempore was in those days applied indiscriminately

to all varieties of block printed or hand painted cottons including canopies, prayer cloths, mats and covers, screens, hand kerchiefs, turbans and cloths, for male and female.[29] The term chintez was also formerly employed to describe any dyed or printed cotton, thereby including in its category all palempores as well.[30] The artistic work by which hand printing or painting was done was called "Kalur Karai" work. It was in vogue throughout the period under review. The Chief centres of the finest palempores or chintez were kalahasti, valajanagar, Kumbakonam, Tanjore, Pamban and Madurai.[31] Even in the 1940s the palempores of the Tamil country persisted despite heavy competition. They had a reputation especially those could be used as screens or canopies, printed by hand, designed in beautiful colours and displaying the representations of the Persian tree of life, covered with flowers parrots, and other birds perched or flying among its branches and rendered them picturesque by animals, resting under its shade or drinking the lumpid waters of a stream.[32] Such cloths were also made to portray flowers of various subjects of Hindu mythology such as scenes from the Mahabaratha and Ramayana. These artistic products had a wider reputation in early part of the period under review. At present the palempore industry is virtually dead. There were very few families who possessed the knowledge of the art, and their workmanship is said to be crude, corrupted by Foreign fashions and ruined by foreign dyes.[33] This, according to him, was mainly due to large scale importation of English piece goods which virtually ruined the indigenous industries. There was nothing in his view comparable to the beautiful reds of Madurai and Kancheepuram. He did not like English colours because they were glaring and crude, where as the Indian colours were sober and beautiful. He concluded with a note of disappointment that the decline of the marvellous industry was really unfortunate.[34]

The Decline of the Industries

The British in order to sell their goods at highest possible price and procure Indian goods at the cheapest price eliminated all possible competition Indian or foreign to begin with. As they needed huge funds to maintain their army and staff, they resorted to all possible means of oppression and exploitation without minding the hardship to Indians. To have tight control over finance they monopolished trade and production in India. As a result of industrial revolution, Britain which was transformed into a leading manufacturing nation was forced to look up for markets for its ever increasing manufactured goods. They transferred India into a colonial market for their finished goods. In 1813 the monopoly of East India Company over Indian trade was abolished and the Indian trade was thrown open to all British citizens. This enabled the British capitalists to invest their surplus capital in India. Improved means of transport and communication accelerated the process of colonisation. To accelerate the growth of their own industries, they levied a nominal duty on their goods. But Indian goods were subjected to heavy import duties in Britain. With heavy internal custom duties, they discouraged Indian Industries and trade in all possible ways. For their benefit, they also carefully stood against the process of modernisation and

industrialisation of India which they feared, would ruin their interest and prosperity. Due to force of circumstances Indians were associated with administration. By various acts like Minto-Morley Reform Act they pursued the policy of divide and rule by introducing communal representation. These were all devices to keep India perpetually a colony to Great Britain. This deliberate policy of exploitation had greatly ruined indigenous industries, especially textile.

Certain historical forces were also against Indian weavers. The company which held monopoly of Indian trade till 1813, lost it for ever. The Charter Act of 1813 which opened the gates of India to all manufacturers of Great Britain, who vied with another to invest their surplus capital in India. Indian Markets were flooded with British goods and subsequently the imports of British piece goods rose from about half a lakh of rupees to nearly 5 lakhs in 1822-23 and more than 10 lakhs in 1850-51.[35] The foreign machine made goods were available in plenty at half the price of Indian goods. The Indian weavers could not compete with such a monster and became a prey to him.

The alien rule gave a death blow to the textile industry. The aliens instead of being patrons to local products, looked upon them with disdain and preferred their millmade goods. The Indian elite also to please their masters not only favoured their manners but also their goods. In many departments especially in the army and navy the British system was deliberately followed which ultimately proved beneficial to their own products and industries. Slowly and steadily the indigenous products lost patronage and support and languished.

The alien rule brought about many changes, social and economic, which were not conducive for the development of Indian industries. There were visible changes even in the taste of the people who did not favour Indian products. They adored and adopted European fashion and scorned at Indian goods and fashion. They were Indian only in colour but European in taste and temperament. They preferred everything European and abhorred everything Indian or indigenous. To such, Indian products would not suit. Indian industries because of this alien rule, lost their chief patrons without whose support they could not thrive.

The native courts also likewise lost their splendour and magnificance. The native chieftains and princes who were the main patrons of these industries were reduced to insignificance. Many of them even became the Chief supporters of the Britishraj, felt exultant supporting their fashion. They did not evince any interest in the promotion of native industries. They appreciated and adored everything British. Especially in the 20th century their courts became the repositories of British culture. They adopted British manners, customs and etiquette in their courts. They appeared in British uniforms to show their loyalty to the British. In such places, there would be no scope for native talents and industries. Their decline became inevitable due to historical circumstances and they were reduced to insignificance.

NOTES

1. *Commercial Despatch to England,* dt. 22nd March 1797 and 20th February 1798.

2. *Report of External Commerce,* 1805.

3. H.Dodwell, "*The Madras Weaves Under the Company,* The I.H.R.C. 1922".

4. Tennant, *Indian Recreations,* 1803, p. 301;

5. Abbe Dubois, *Hindu Manners,* 3rd edn. 1959; *Customs and Ceremonies,* pp. 36, 81, 82.

6. Place, *Report on Jagire,* 1799.

7. *Ibid.*

8. *Letter from the Board of Trade to the Government* dt. 27th May 1802.

9. Sarada Raju, *Economic Conditions in the Madras Presidency* 1800-1850, 1941.

10. *R.C.* 20th August 1818 letter from the B.R. to the Government.

11. *Report of the Customs Committee* dt. 27th January 1836 - Sarada Raju, op. cit.

2. *General Report of the Board of Revenue* Vol. 46-49, page 708.

13. *Board's Proceedings,* dt. 20th August 1818.

14. Dubois, *op.cit.*, p. 95.

15. *Letter from the Collector of Nellore,* to the Board, 14th September 1844.

16. *Letter from the Collector of Vizagapattinam* dt. 9th August 1844.

17. *Collector of Madura to the Board* dt. 26th August 1844.

18. *Letter from the Collector of North Arcot* dt. 2nd October, 1844.

19. *R.P.* dt. 17th January, 1877 No. 160.

20. Srinivasaragavaiangar, *Memorandum on the Progress of the Madras Presidency,* 1892, p. 94.

21. *Ibid.*

22. In 1871, the total quantity of twist worked up into cloth was estimated at 31 1/2 million lbs, of which 11 1/2 millions were imported.

23. Srinivasaragavaiangar, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

24. *Proceedings of the Board of Revenue* dt. 15th January 1877, No. 160.

25. *Ibid,* dt. 31st May 1883, No. 1788.

26. *Proceedings of the Board of Revenue,* dt. 11 February 1883, No. 990.

27. *Ibid,* dt. 12th March 1883, No. 133.

28. *Selections from the Records of the Madras Government* (New Revenue) Series No.VI, pp. 1-17.

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29. Thurston, E. *Monograph or Cotton Fabric Industry of the Madras Presidency*, 1897 p.13.

30. Hadway, H.S. *Cotton printing and painting in the Madras Presidency*, 1917, p. 1.

31. Thurston, *op. cit*, pp. 13, 14.

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33. *Ibid*, pp. 13, 16.

34. *Ibid*.

35. Sarada Raju, *op. cit*.

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MASULIPATNAM ON THE COROMANDEL COAST AND THE MARITIME TRADE OF INDIA DURING THE 17TH CENTURY A.D.

K.S.Mathew

Europeans, especially after the encounter between the East and the West during the days of crusades, cherished great taste for the oriental spices and found the easy way of preserving food-stuff with the help of these much coveted items. Their dependence on the oriental commodities was exploited by the merchants who held a sort of monopoly on these goods. This was the case with the Arab merchants in the areas of the Red Sea and the Persian gulf, and the merchants of Italy, especially the Venetians who were better placed than others to have access to the Mediterranean centres of trade and acted as suppliers of these items to the various parts of Europe. The exploited people of Western Europe vied with each other to have direct contact with the spice-producing areas and consequently they broke fresh ground ushering in the period of commercial revolution. Western coast of India was brought under the Portuguese who claimed maritime supremacy over the Indian Ocean with a view to having monopolistic hold on the entire produce of spices. Those who appeared late on the scene, namely, the Dutch, the English, the French and the Danes had to get spices chiefly from other parts of Asia, and in their quest for these commodities they entered on the trade in textiles and a number of other items whereby they hoped to collect more spices and other valuable items with the small amount they had at their disposal. As a result, we find a significant change in the commodity composition of the export from India since the first decade of the 17th century A.D. and it was in this context that the Coromandel Coast became the target of the contending European powers. Of all the anchorages in the Coromandel region, Masulipatnam, situated in the Krishna-Godavari delta attracted the European traders and it began to play an important role in the maritime trade of India.

Masulipatnam or Machilipatnam was known as Masalia to Hippolaus, the Graeco-Egyptian merchant who wrote *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (c. A.D.60) and as Maisola to the Greek astronomer Ptolemy (c. A.D.90-168), the author of *Tabula Peutingeriana*. Marco Polo (A.D. 1245-1324), the Venetian traveller also knew Machilipatnam as a centre of the production of some delicate and expensive textiles called *buckrams*. This port-town was also known as *Bandar-i-Mubarak* in the Indo-Persian chronicles of late Qutb Shahi period (Sherwani & Joshi 1973:25). This town was known for the manufacture of large quantities of muslins

during the first century after Christ (Majumdar 1981:307). With the rise of Qutb Shahi dynasty under Quli Shah in the second decade of the 16th century A.D. and especially from the time that Krishna-Godavari delta as far Ellur (Eluru) and Rajmundri was brought under Qutub'l-Mulk, the port of Masulipatnam began to develop as the chief maritime outlet of the kingdom of Golconda (Briggs 1981:218-19). It was famous for very fine cloths of diverse colours and artistic works and so the Portuguese used to buy them in the 16th century though they did not have a permanent factory at Masulipatnam (Linschotan 1874:7). The fact that a low Portuguese was spoken by the merchant community of Masulipatnam during the 16th and 17th centuries and later, speaks for the Portuguese trade relations with Masulipatnam.

It was, however, with the dawn of the 17th century when the other Western European powers wanted to obtain textiles, pearls, diamonds, precious stones and especially textiles and slaves that Masulipatnam began to turn out to be the haven of several of them and the surrounding areas speeded up production in various sectors. Probably, the first European factory, to be established in Masulipatnam was that of the Dutch which came into existence on the strength of the *firman* issued by Mohammad Quli (1580-1611), the Sultan of Golconda in August, 1606, (Galletti 1984:7). The persons put in charge of the factory were Pieter Eyloff and Willemsz. The Dutch were exploited by Siddappa, the collector at the port of Masulipatnam, who insisted on sixteen per cent of tax on export instead of the usual four per cent and seven and a half per cent on import.[1] Masulipatnam was rented out by the government for Rs.800,000 which was again given to sub-biou who went on exploiting the traders. The Dutch being exploited sent Paulus Van Solt and Willemsz to the court at Golconda and got the duty fixed at four per cent on exports and imports. The weavers, dyers, bleachers and other artisans were exempted from twelve per cent stamp duty on linen and were allowed to have direct access to the Dutch. This was a special privilege so far not extended to any one including the Portuguese. The extortions of the local collectors continued under Siddappa as well as his successor Pylappa, despite frequent protests on the part of the Dutch. So Pulicat became the headquarters of the Dutch factories on the Coromandel Coast and Masulipatnam continued to be under Pulicat till 1689 and later Nagapatnam till 1783. At present, there exists a place called Vallanadu-palem at Masulipatnam, where the Dutch factory and their other buildings stood earlier. The trade in Masulipatnam averaged Rs.600,000 a year throughout the greater part of the 17th century.

The next group of Europeans who opened their commercial establishment in Masulipatnam were the English. The earliest English factory on the eastern coast of India was the one established at Masulipatnam in 1611. As they kept good relations with Mir Jumla of Golconda, they did not face much problem except the rivalry of the Dutch. With a view to exporting locally woven piece goods to Persia and Bantam they started the factory in Mauslipatnam. On account of the extortions of the local officials and the unfriendly attitude of the Dutch, they opened another factory at Armagaon giving up their interest

at Masulipatnam. But, again they shifted their interest to this port and obtained a golden *firman* in A.D.1632 from the Sultan of Golconda and were permitted to trade freely on payment of duties worth 500 *pagodas* a year. These concessions were reconfirmed in 1634, yet the oppressions of the local officials continued unabated.

The next European power worth-noting is the French who opened their commercial establishments at Masulipatnam in 1669, by obtaining a *firman* from the Sultan of Golconda. In fact, the contacts established by the French at Masulipatnam later prepared the way for closer relations between the French and the Nizam.

Thus we find that Masulipatnam was coveted port-town with which the Portuguese, the Dutch, the English and the French established commercial contacts and it was through this port that the several products of the Kingdom of Golconda found their way to various parts of Asia and other countries. Masulipatnam had a major share in the maritime trade of India during the 17th century and this can be discussed under different branches namely inter-Asian trade, and Euro-Asian trade.

The maritime town of Masulipatnam in the first decade of the 17th century was under the Sultan of Golconda and was not a walled city. The streets were straight, but the houses were not high. The port of Masulipatnam was situated about half a league away from the town. All varieties of ships from various parts of the world were found there. The local people conducted very lucrative trade in painted cloths and several works in cotton textiles very delicately done. These textiles were estimated higher than silk (Laval 1944:275-6).

The intra-Asian trade at least as far as the Dutch were concerned was devised to support the Euro-Asian trade by enhancing the investment they managed to bring from Holland. So, they calculated that the textiles from the coast of Coromandel could be exchanged against spices, Chinese wares and Chinese gold.

Several branches of the Intra-Asian trade could be distinguished and most of these were connected with South East Asian regions in general. Thus, the Dutch who established their factories in Masulipatnam had commercial contacts with Timor, Amboina, Moluccas, Patni, Bantam, Batavia (Jakarta), Jambi, Achin, Banda and Siam. A host of commodities, especially, several varieties of textiles from Masulipatnam found their way to the above mentioned markets. Among the textile products exported from Masulipatnam to these markets of South East Asia, Golconda cloth, *guinea* cloth, *mapods*, *Salampuris*, *cinbams*, *sarassas*, *betilles*, *percallas*, *goulongs* and *tapis* occupy a prominent place.[2] Local Muslim merchants from Masulipatnam also entered on trade in textiles. It was reported that per year twelve to thirteen ships loaded with textiles were sent by local Muslim merchants (*DFI* 181). Textiles from Masulipatnam were exported to Maldives in the early part of the 17th century.[3]

These items of textiles had to be procured from the hinterland and brought to Masulipatnam. The merchants in whom the foreign traders put their trust collected the textiles from the various production centres scattered in the hinterland. Advances were paid to the merchants and

in certain cases the merchants did not pay off the advances and so the foreign trades had a lot of irrecoverable debts (*DFI* 67-8, 70-2). Sometimes, when they did not have enough money to purchase the textiles from the hinterland, they had to take loans at exhorbitant rates from the local merchants (*DFI* 108, 110). Warangal and twelve villages thereabout which were about seventy two miles northwest of Masulipatnam, Linga with ten villages produced various sorts of textiles such as *betilles*, *sarongs*, *salempores*, *percallas*, unbleached *betilles*, blue *tape-chiras boolongs*, negro cloth (coarse *salempores*), *modapollams* (originating from the weaving centre called Modapollam, twelve miles north of Masulipatnam) (Ramasamy 1985:118-19) and these were supplied to the town of Masulipatnam. In certain cases, a large number of weavers and painters flocked to the town from hinterland and were taken under the protection of the company as in Pulicat (*DFI* 121).

The textiles and other goods brought by the native merchants to Masulipatnam were subjected to a toll of seven per cent. But, if these items were purchased in the name of VOC, they were exempt from this toll and so, the purchases from the hinterland were made in the name of the company, because there was an agreement between the Sultan of Golconda and the Dutch regarding the payment of an annual toll of 3000 *pagodas* (*DFI* 108, 110). An arrangement of this sort became inevitable because despite the four per cent of tax imposed on export and import by the Sultan through his *firman*, the local officials like *havaldar* or *shahbander* of Masulipatnam used to harass the Dutch who decided to arrive at an annual lumpsum payment (*DFI* 106-9). Because of this device, textiles were cheaper in Masulipatnam than in other ports of the Coromandel as reported by the Dutch officials (*DFI* 106).

The organisation of the factory and its staff position in Masulipatnam were designed to effect purchases from the hinterland very smoothly. An upper merchant was stationed in the factory by the Dutch to attend the general affairs of the factory. He was assisted by an under-merchant to buy the commodities from the interior. There was a head-under-merchant to assist the upper merchant. Besides, there were several assistants to carry cash to the interior to purchase textiles and other items, to buy textiles from some specified areas in the delta of Krishna–Godavari and bring them to the Dutch factory at Masulipatnam (*DFI* 107).

Another important item of export from Masulipatnam constituted slaves who were much more eagerly sought after than even textiles, with a view to populating and cultivating in their colonies in Banda, Amboina, Moluccos and Batavia. It was estimated that 2000 to 3000 slaves were sent to Batavia, Amboina and Banda in 1621 (*DFI* 177, 179). Again and again indents were sent from Batavia to fetch as many slaves as possible from Masulipatnam (*DFI* 170). As the Dutch officials on the Coromandel were not able to meet the requirements of Batavia as far as slaves were concerned, the VOC permitted even the Indian merchants to take the slaves to the South East Asian countries. The Muslim ships from the Coromandel carried the slaves to some ports like Achin (*DFI* 201). The number of slaves taken to Batavia, Amboina and Banda was much below the expectation of the

company and so the officials wrote that even hundreds of thousands of slaves were welcome.

A *muslim merchant* of Masulipatnam, Mohammed by name, was permitted to collect slaves and send them in the Company's vessels to Batavia to sell. Similarly, an Englishman named Alberto Gomes, who was from his childhood in the Portuguese service was also given permission to buy slaves from Masulipatnam and take them to the South East Asian Countries for sale. The company officials were of the opinion that the must profitable trade in the twenties of the seventeenth century was to take slaves from Masulipatnam and to sell them at Batavia to free burglers. But, private traders were found more efficient in this and so the company had permitted both Indian and Dutch merchants to carry on the lucrative trade. But in order to appropriate the entire profit, the officials in Batavia used to write again and again to the factors at Masulipatnam to send as many slaves as possible (*DFI* 213). The officials of this factory were reminded that *they would be doing a greater service* to the company by sending slaves rather than any other item for Holland or the East Indies. It was estimated that trade in slaves could fetch more profit than clothes (*DFI* 214).

Large number of slaves were available at Masulipatnam during the time of famine (*DFI* 209). Slaves from Oriza were also sent to Achin and other places in the South East Asian countries (*DFI* 197).

Diamonds from the famous Golconda mines constituted another important item of export from Masulipatnam to the South East Asian regions. It was reported by the Dutch officials at Masulipatnam that in 1621 a diamond mine was found in a place called Bannaganapalli about fifty miles South West of Masulipatnam. It was located at the foot of a mountain and more than 20,000 men were employed in this mine. It was leased by the Sultan of Golconda for 300,000 *pagodas* (1 *Pagoda* = 4 fl.) per year. But it was stipulated that diamonds of more than eight carats should be surrendered to the Sultan free of charge. The underground cellers of this mine were about a mile long (*DFI* 146-7). The quality of diamonds was reportedly good and orders were issued by the officials of Batavia to procure as many diamonds as possible without prejudice to the volume of textiles and the number of slaves (*DFI* 214). *Diamonds* were in great demand in Achin (*DFI* 209). The diamond mines were farmed out in 1623 for 260,000 *pagodas* per year to four Hindu entrepreneurs (*DFI* 248).

Tavernier (1977 I:139, 211; II:69, 73) speaks of the diamond mine (gani) of Kollur (Coulour), situated on the Krishna river. It was from here that the precious diamond presented by Mir Jumla Mohammed Said to Shahjahan came. Tavernier also makes mention of the diamond mines of Ramala Kota and another probably identified as one situated near Damarapad and Malavaram on the Krishna river. In fact twenty three diamond mines were found in the kingdom of Golconda towards the end of the 17th century. Diamonds from Masulipatnam were sent to Goa, Ormus and other places in persia, Allepo and Turkey (*DFI* 182).

Iron and steel from the Deccan were esteemed highly abroad even prior to the arrival of the foreigners

and so these two items continued to be exported from Masulipatnam in the 17th century to the Dutch colonies in the South Asian countries. About 96,000 pounds of iron and 20,000 pieces of steel were sent to Jakarta in 1629 from Masulipatnam. Even the local merchants used to send large amount of steel every year to Achin. It was estimated that Batavia could sell 1,000 *piculs* of iron and about 30,000 pieces of steel annually and so the officials requested to send these items from Masulipatnam. This was urged especially because these were cheaper at Masulipatnam than in Japan *(DFI* 239-251).

Rice from the Coromandel coast exported to the Dutch possessions in the South East Asia and Masulipatnam was the chief port of export to Jakarta. Some times rice collected from Masulipatnam was sent to Pulicat. Indigo too figured among the items of expórt from Masulipatnam to South East Asia. Among sundry items, gunny sacks needed for Jambi, Jakarta, Amboina and Banda were also sent from Masulipatnam. Horses for the security of the area around were exported from here *(DFI* 119, 36-7, 170).

The commodities of import in the intra-Asian branch of the trade with the port of Masulipatnam were several. Nutmeg, cloves, sandalwood, eagle wood, tortoise horn, coarse porcelain, gold from Siam, alum, sappan wood, mace, pepper, benzoin and ivory were a few among them. It was always insisted that more and more cash should be supplied to the factory at Masulipatnam from Batavia as far as the Dutch trade was concerned. Gold from China was preferred in Masulipatnam to the one from Siam, Sumatra and Bornéo *(DFI* 39, 65, 98-9, 111-2).

Bantam was one of the centres of the supply of cloves, nutmeg and lead to Masulipatnam. It was estimated that Masulipatnam could sell 100 to 200 *bhars* of cloves and nutmeg a year and make a good profit. The proceeds from the sale of the spices from South East Asia were invested in cloths to be sent chiefly to Jawa, Malaya, Moluccas, Amboina and Timor. Cloves fetched 13 to 13 1/2 *pagodas* per *maund,* nutmeg 45 *pagodas* per *bhar,* mace 10 *pagodas* per *maund,* sandalwood 115 to 120 *pagodas* per *maund,* Alum, Chinese velvets, satins and raw silk were also imported into Masulipatnam. Gold thread imported to Masulipatnam for the purchase of cloths yielded greater profit for the Dutch. Silver coins and silver bullion too were among the commodities imported. Japanese and Chinese camphor, *Radix China* and copper were also imported into Masulipatnam. Banda sent 40,000 pounds of nutmeg and 50 bags of mace to Masulipatnam in 1623. As the entire produce of cloves available to the Dutch in the South East Asian regions could not be sold in Holland it was encouraged that utmost care should be taken to sell them in India and probably by importing this commodity to Masulipatnam *(DFI passim).*

The Dutch exported a large variety of textiles to Holland besides slaves, saltpeter, indigo, gun-powder, cotton yarn and diamonds, which constituted a major section of the Euro-Asian trade based on Masulipatnam. Guinea-cloth, Bengal *ginghams, chalas, taffechelas dungarces,* white *percallas* fine *sarassa maleya, tapis, salampuris madops, patolas,* red fine *pattas, ginghams* of various calours, fine white *tarcals,* chavonis,

red *percallas*, and *alcatyfs* were among the textiles exported from Masulipatnam to Holland. Dyeing of some of the textiles was done at Masulipatnam. Along with textiles, cotton yarn was also exported from Masulipatnam to Holland regularly. A large variety of textiles were collected by the English from Masulipatnam and sent to England. Original *beetelaes*, *Salampores*, Golconda *Beetelaes*, Chints, *Izzarees*, *Percallaes*, *allejaes*, *dungareos*, long cloths and sail cloths were among them.[4] The English East India company signed contracts with the local merchants for the procurement of textiles from various centres in the neighbourhood of Masulipatnam.[5]

Diamonds from Masulipatnam were also exported to Holland. The Directors at Amsterdam instructed that the company's funds might be used for the procurement of diamonds rather than coarse goods. Though greater demand was for smaller stones, higher profit was assured if big-sized stones were sold in Holland. The diamonds from the newly discovered mine in the neighbourhood of Masulipatnam were in great demand in Europe. The French private merchants too collected diamonds from Masulipatnam around 1621 (*DFI* 160). English East India Company made special arrangements to get as many diamonds as possible from Masulipatnam. Interlopers were employed to get diamonds and pearls in abundance. Some times large sum of cash was sent to Masulipatnam by the English East India Company specifically for diamonds.[6]

Indigo was another item that was sent to Holland from Masulipatnam. A consignment of 100 packets of the best indigo was indented in 1617. The Dutch officials at Masulipatnam reported that nearly 1,000 bales of good quality indigo were ready to be exported to Holland. Upper-merchants used to go to the inland to procure indigo for the Dutch. The English, however, were not exporting it from Masulipatnam presumably because they got better stock from the western coast of India. The officials in Amsterdam ordered 1,000 packets of the best quality of indigo from Masulipatnam in 1618. It continued to be a regular item of export to Holland from Masulipatnam and instructions were issued by the officials to collect as much volume as possible. As indigo from Masulipatnam was not so good as the one from Gujarat, and if any cut in the volume of commodities was to be made it was always advised to be done in indigo (*DFI* 56, 64, 65, 74-5, 79 ff).

Wax, gunpowder, saltpetre and borax were also among the commodities of export from Masulipatnam to Holland. The officials at Masulipatnam were instructed to send saltpetre directly to Holland as well as to Bantam for gunpowder mills in Amboina. It was calculated that trade in saltpetre made reasonable profit. Both refined and unrefined saltpetre was exported to Holland. Gunpowder, sometimes, was sent from Masulipatnam to Batavia and from there to Holland. Iron was also sent in the same way to Netherlands. Greater profit was made in the trade of wax and saltpetre and so the officials at Masulipatnam were asked to collect more of these items for export to Holland (*DFI passim*). The English East India Company toc exported saltpetre from Masulipatnam. They also took turmerick and cowries from here.[7] In addition to these commodities, slaves were exported from Masulipat-

nam to Holland. The factors of the Dutch factory were reminded by the officials in Holland that they would be doing better service to the Company by sending more slaves to Holland than any other item *(DFI* 214).

Import of the Euro-Asian trade based on Masulipatnam consisted of a number of goods sent from Holland directly or through Batavia. Precious metals occupied an important position among the imports from Holland. Gold was brought from Holland along with unminted silver. Cash in the form of *rials*, lead, red sheets, large-sized pearls, gilded mirrors without figures, blades, pearls, coral, ammunitions and provisions were the other items that were imported into Masulipatnam from Holland. But the major portion of the import consisted in cash. The English East India Company imported broad cloth, gold, cash, silver, lead, quick silver dyeing wares, bullion, copper, vermillion and tin.[8] The port of Masulipatnam was very well connected with the various parts of India and abroad both by land and sea route. Pyrard de Laval who visited India between 1601 and 1611 speaks of its connection with Surat by land. The land route from Surat was through Navapore, Navsari, Aurangabad, Ambart, Patri, Rajura, Canda bar, Eidgeer, Serbidar, Indore, Golconda, Pangol and Quissora. Masulipatnam was connected with Surat via Cape Comorin. One could pass from Masulipatnam to Tenasserim, by sea and then to Siam and China (Lavel 1944:259, 262).

The unprecedented spurt in the maritime trade of India based on Masulipatnam in the seventeenth century was presumably due to a couple of reasons. The Portuguese who claimed supremacy over the Indian Ocean and the trading centres in that region left the Coromandel coast rather unguarded and concentrated their attention chiefly on the west coast of India. This was especially because they were more interested in pepper and other spices available in the West coast, and the Coromandel coast did not offer the commodities they were primarily interested in. Almost all their factories and fortresses, consequently, were situated on the western coast. This state of affairs left the other North European powers like the Dutch, English and the French free to start commercial relations with Masulipatnam.

Moreover, Masulipatnam offered textiles, slaves, diamonds and a host of other items with which they could buy the produce spices in the South East Asian countries and carry them home at reduced rates. Eastern coast, especially the Godavari-Krishna delta was one of the regions that provided textiles and cotton abundantly. This region, also prone to natural calamities and famine arising out of them, supplied slaves too with whose assistance the Dutch cultivated spices in the colonies in the South East Asia. Masulipatnam was the chief maritime outlet of the Qutb Shahi kingdom and so in tune with increasing demand generated by the North Europeans it became a port-town bustling with maritime trade. Thus, the commercial relations of Masulipatnam with South East Asia and ultimately with North Europe became more and more intensified and varied since the first decade of the seventeenth century.

The change of interest in the commodities to be exported from India shown by the North European powers gave a fresh fillip to the

maritime trade of Masulipatnam and the development of production in the areas around it. While spices constituted a major share of the export in the 16th century, it was textiles that occupied the prime of place in the seventeenth. A large number of weaving villages around Masulipatnam took advantage of this change and the net result was the increase of the maritime trade of Masulipatnam. The North Europeans who conceived the idea of enhancing the capital at their disposal for the purchase of spices and other aromatic items from Asia found Masulipatnam the most congenial centre to invest money for textiles and slaves for the purchase and production of spices in the South East Asian countries. This novel method adopted by the Dutch and the English in the 17th century was also instrumental in the sudden development of the maritime of Masulipatnam. Moreover, as testified by Tavernier, the French traveller, Masulipatnam was the best anchorage in the Bay of Bengal. Thus, a variety of factors contributed to the development of the maritime trade based on Masulipatnam.

The different dimensions of the maritime trade of Masulipatnam can be studied within the parametres of the control wielded by merchant's capital on the various sectors of production. We see the foreign market controlling production of cash crops. In tune with the increasing demand for cotton and textiles of various sorts in the South East Asian countries and Europe, agricultural production in and around Masulipatnam and the Krishna-Godavari delta was enhanced as it is clear from the proliferation of weaving activities in more and more villages in this region. Though we cannot hazard any guess regarding the extent of land brought under cultivation and its intensity, due to the lack of data available to us at the moment, it is justifiable to say that the region produced more cotton to furnish necessary material for weaving. So large scale cultivation of cotton, probably even to the detriment of other crops, was initiated on account of the greater demand in the market. As we have no information regarding the inflow of raw materials from other regions for the weaving industry, we may conclude that the intensification and expansion of the cultivation of cotton were effected in this same region. Thus, the commercialisation of agriculture was brought about to keep pace with the increasing maritime trade of Masulipatnam.

The sector of secondary production also geared up to the demand generated by the European merchants. Large number of villages were engaged in weaving and other activities connected with the production of textiles. But a considerable change was seen in the 17th century. As the small scale production that was going on for centuries together was not able to cope with the greater demand, the individual producers with limited investment were subjected to the money advance by the merchants and turned out to be weavers and painters working on daily wages as reported by the Dutch officials. The artisans and draftsmen thus were brought under 'the sways of merchant capital. So, they were dependent on those who advanced money and material and lost their freedom to sell the products as they like. This also must have subsequently brought about a situation in which there arose a number of non-producers supervising the produc-

tion of textiles. The individual free producer was thus brought under the influence of merchant's capital.

Further transformation was effected among the merchants too. The foreign traders who wanted large quantity of textiles and did not have the means as well as time to collect these items from the various villages in the hinterland depended on merchants of large investments who could supply commodities against a partial advance received from the foreigners or even at credit. The English as well as the Dutch signed contracts with merchants of great substance. This was inevitable in the case of expensive items and the foreigners did not want to take any risk by advances to small scale merchants of negligible investment. Thus, the foreign merchant's capital provided an excellent opportunity for a few local merchants to grow up even to the extermination of small scale merchants who turned out to be mere dependents of these magnates. So capital accumulation in a few hands and the decline of small scale merchants was another outcome of this situation.

Non-agricultural production, especially in the field of extractive industry received considerable boost, during the seventeenth century consequent on the demand generated by the Europeans at the port of Masulipatnam. Diamond mines employing about 20,000 workers at a time were farmed out to certain entrepreneurs who accumulated further capital. Thus, a small beginning towards mass-production was made in the seventeenth century. As noted elsewhere, about twenty three diamond mines were found in the kingdom of Golconda towards the second half of the seventeenth century. The diamonds of Golconda mines found their way to South East Asia and various parts of Europe, chiefly through the port of Masulipatnam.

A characteristic development of the period of mercantilism was a changed approach to human values, so far held sacred. Those who were rendered helpless on account of famine and other natural or man-made calamities were purchased and sold for the European colonies, and Masulipatnam was one of the chief exporting centres of slaves. As seen above, an ever-increasing demand was made for the slaves who could be sent to the estates of cloves, nutmegs etc., in the South East Asian countries. Both Indian and foreign merchants traded in slaves. Thus merchants capital established a strong hold on various sectors of economy through Masulipatnam in the seventeenth century.

In fine, it may be said that the growth of the maritime trade based on Masulipatnam brought about considerable changes in the agrarian and non-agrarian sectors of production in and around Masulipatnam. These changes also had its impact on the society. The interest shown by the foreign merchants in the export of commodities could be considered the chief reason for the sudden development of Masulipatnam as a great maritime trade centre. This case can also be taken as an example of merchants' capital controlling production. As long as the maritime trade continued, this port-town maintained its importance.

APPENDIX - 1

Varieties of textiles exported from Masulipatnam by the Dutch to South East Asian regions and Holland.

Shirts and trousers.

Betille (Deccan Muslin)	The greater part of muslin came from the neighbourhood Warangal.
Poulongs percallas	Chequered cloth in various colours (closely woven cotton cloth. It was a sort of fine white cambric).
Redpercallas, White *parcallas*, *Salampuris*, Ginghams	(White cloth with red borders) a kind of cotton or linen cloth, woven of dyed yarn, often in stripes or checks.
Madop	or Madapollam (a particular kind of cotton cloth named after a place on the southern delta branch of Godavari, Madhavapalam)
tapi sarassas	tapi was a general name for coloured piece-goods used as skirts by both men and women in many parts of South East Asia. *Tapi sarassa* was a well-known variety, patterned with brids and foliages
Sarassa	a cheap strong calico, either plain or striped
Tapichinde	a cheap painted or printed cloth made especially for the spice islanders
Chela	White or yellow cotton cloth with black stripes. It could also be chequered
Matafon	(a striped cloth woven chiefly in Golconda and exported to Malay archipelago.)
Guinea-cloth	genric name for a wide range of cheap, brightly coloured Indian calicoes mostly striped or chequered.
Gungarees	which were bought mainly for consumption by African slaves
Alcatif	sort of pile carpet
Goulongs	variety patterned in the loom and usually incorporated gold thread.
Taffechelas de Golconda	intended for making into Malay *sarongs*
Fine *muris*	

Coarse *muris*

Patta	a cheap dyed cotton cloth, usually striped but varying in style according to the particular local market for which it was intended. In demand in Europe as a substitute for linen cloth. It was also used for chintz, aking, the traditional centre of manufacture was Masulipatnam.
Salalu	dyed cotton cloth, usually striped, but varying in style according to the particular market for which it was intended
Chavoni	a very light white cotton cloth embroidered with coloured silk
Chautar	a plain white calico, usually of superior quality and much in demand for shirting. Exported mainly to Malay archipelago.
Drongan	probably dagam or dragon was a cheap dyed cotton cloth, much in demand in the Malay Archipelago. It was usually black and red, presumably either striped or chequered.
Dungaree	a strong coarse calico. It was a cloth of very low grade and was often used for packing other goods.
Beram	a famous superior calico which the Portuguese sometimes called *beiram de Roma*. In the seventeenth century beram is often a coarse and inferior calico usually dyed red, blue or black for Asian markets. This was produced mainly in Burhampur.
Cangan	a multi-coloured cotton shawl produced mainly on the Coromandel coast.

APPENDIX II

LIST OF TEXTILES EXPORTED TO ENGLAND FROM MASULIPATNAM*

Original beetelaes

Sallampores
Golcundah Beetelaes

Percollaes

Cummum beetelaes

Izzarees

Chints

Romalls

Allejaes

Booke percollaes

Long cloth

Fine Percollaes

Ginhgams white

Ginhams brown

Dungarees

Cotton romalls

Saille cloth

Mullmulls

Silk romalls

Sannoes

Taffaties

Silk neck cloths

Striped mullmulls

Neelaes

Saderunches

Collawaypoos

Saserguntees

* *Masulipatnam Consultation Book of 1682-83*, Madras, 1916 pp.29, 30, 33, 38, 53, *Despatches from England 1680-82*, pp. 28-29, 63, 66, 13, Madras, 1914.

Diary and Consultation book 1678-79, p. 101.

Diary and Consultation Book 1679-1680, Madras, 1912. pp. 11, 72, 90.

APPENDIX III

Names of the local merchants and the items contracted by the English East India Company at Masulipatnam.*

1. Madala Cundapa under him Darsedas, Nety Vencana
2. Madala Mootealo and under him Tamana Ramana, Pully Verte Jungum
3. Reacapeli Colapa and under him Coorakayle Rungapa, Charoogoundla Asiana
4. Acula Ellapa and under him Gooresala Servana, Majesty Gruana
5. Recapeli Acana and under him Veroo Pante, Gundooree Mullapa
6. Choundoor Acana and under him Congagoola Decho, Tamana Mooselaya
7. Goundeala Vincacadry and under him Mahmedy Mullapa, Toronala Latchana
8. Vena Velly Vincatyputty and under him Allapatty Ramdas Pully Verte Rangana
9. Nalam Vencana and under him Chela Sevapa, Coonacunla Jungum.
10. Cola Narso and under him Woojell Narsapa, Cundoory Narsapa
11. Aala Potena

* *Diary and Consultation Book 1679-80*, Madras 1912, p.89.

APPENDIX IV

List of goods imported into Masulipatnam from Holland or South East Asian countries.

Cloves

nutmeg

Rompen (unripe variety of nutmeg)

mace

tortoise horn

Alum

sandalwood

sappanwood

lead

Japanese camphor

Cohinese Camphor

Benzoin

Tin

Spelter

ivory

copper

cotton

vermillion

Quick silver

white raw silk

radix china

(Ref. Prakash 1984:228-9).

NOTES

1. The chief port officer was called *Shah Bandar.* Sidappa must be the one to whom the collection of revenue of the port was farmed out. He was greatly indebted to Muhammad Said, Mir Jumla, the over-all head of the Government.

2. Refer Appendix I.

3. See Laval, *op. cit.* Vol.1 pp.168, 176, 219, 223, vol.11. pp. 129, 253, 254, 259, 262, 276.

4. *Records of Fort St. George; Masulipatnam Consultation Book of 1682-83,* Madras, 1916, pp.29-30, 33, 38, 53; *Despatches from England 1680-1682,* Madras 1914 pp.13, 28, 29, 63, 66; *Letters from Fort St. George to Subordinate Factories 1679,* Madras, 1915, pp. 6, 28; *Diary and Consultation Book 1678-79* Madras, 1911, p. 101, *et passim; Diary and Consultation Book 1679-80* Madras, 1912, pp. 11, 72, 90 and refer Appendix No. II.

5. *Diary and Consultation Book 1679-80, op. cit.,* p. 89, Refer also Appendix - III.

6. *Despatches from England 1680-82,* pp. 53, 56, 59-60.

7. *Despatches from England 1680-82,* p.29.

8. *Masulipatnam Consultation Book of 1682-83*, p.23; *Letters from Fort St.George to Subordinate Factories 1679*, pp.27, 30; *Despatches from England 1680-82*, pp.36, 95-96; *Diary and Consultation Book 1679-80*, p.48; *Diary and Consultation Book 1678-79*, pp.14, 88. Refer also Appendix V.

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A HOLISTIC VISION OF HISTORY

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History is, to a certain extent, perceived in the light of our experiences and philosophy. Such perceptions yield rich harvests of unending dialogues, which enrich the opulent History and Truth. This paper is an attempt to find a holistic view of this Aristocrat History -- an attempt to perceive a starting point, structure and the primary determinants with illustrations from the History of India. Thus an endeavour is made to present a view point, a perception of that majestic, incomprehensible History. In that context, this paper attempts to examine and explain step by step the following ideas in that order, to discover the meaning of History: (1) History is moulded by environment and Holistic life-force; (2) Magnifying Macro-ideas of the Holistic life-force knit together culture and civilization;. (3) All these ideas which compose culture and civilization are those of significant Actors, who weave historical memory, (4) These significant Actors are -- (a) the mythological Supreme Beings, (b) the semi-mythological Supreme Beings, (c) the Mundane Supreme Beings and (d) the significant others namely, (i) Paramount Actors, (ii) Star-luminaries, (iii) Back-seat Actors, (iv) Big-wigs and the (v) Local notables, (5) The masses constitute the background, the environment of all these actions and hence history is a joint endeavour, a collective work of a people, (6) History appears to conceal some mystery and this mystery is its source, the elusive single Reality-God, which clothes History with a monistic-pluralistic vision of the Absolute. Still an attempt can be made to comprehend this mystery with the help of a holistic or psychic-psycho-autonomous history.

Geography is the Womb

History is flowing Time, waking up memory-waves. Time cannot move in a vacuum or in *sunya*. Time blossoms in space. This space is Geography or the environment-the Eternal Stage on which man is the dancer, other creations are the musical accompaniments and History is the Dance. Hence History is a Dance-painting drawn on the canvass of geography and is partly the culmination of the interaction between man and his environment.

The Geography of India, its physical configuration, its mountains and rivers, its climate and soil have influenced the history of India significantly. First let us take the influence of mountains. The northern Himalayas "the Great sentinel of the North" promoted peaceful inter-state relations between India and China till 1962, when China encroach-

ed on the borders of India for the first time. Islam walked into India through the open-gates of the north-western Himalayas and had remarkably changed the destiny of India. It had even changed the traditional geographical concept of Bharat that is, India by establishing Pakistan, Bangladesh and India -- the triplets of ancient Bharat. Next let us take the influence of the sea and rivers. Christianity came to India via the sea lanes. The Bay of Bengal carried Indian Culture and 'Greater India' to south-east Asian countries. The richness of the Indo-Gangetic plains facilitated the establishment of big empires in that region. Deccan continued to remain aloof from the political upheaval of the north and it took a lot of time before any conqueror of the North could conquer South.

The ancient Indians did not lack geographical awareness. The *Rigveda*, for example, proclaims, "Strike the evil aggressor, win the waters....." *Yajur Veda* and *Atharvan* talk of the "peace of sky, the peace of mid-air, the peace of earth, the peace of waters, the peace of plants .... the peace of the Universe".[1] A complete picture of a major part of the south-eastern Asia is presented in Ramayana. The geographical matter contained in the Mahabharata is immense. The geographical material of the 18 *Mahapuranas* is contained in their first two books *Laksanas*, which deal with cosmogony, cosmology and cosmography.[2] Kautilya's Artha-sastra also contains useful geographical information.

The works of the ancient Indians were not intended to be text books of geography or of scientific history and hence they inserted incidental geographical information only at relevant places depending on the theme or topic discussed. Hence to believe that only historians like Michelet and J.R.Green are pioneers in discovering the interaction between geography and history is an exaggeration. Because like J.R.Green the ancient Indians too were aware that landscape is "the fullest and most certain of all documents",[3] eventhough they lacked sophisticated modern scientific historical sense.

Holistic life-force and the Three *Gunas*

From the foregoing discussion it is evident that Man has learnt the art of utilising the bounty of Nature and to live in harmony with it. The means employed by man to woo Nature and to fashion his life in general, is his holistic life-force. Holistic life-force is the expression of the total personality of an individual. It is the sum total of his whole being. It is shaped by desire. Love, joy, sorrow, hatred, ambition, pride, fear, jealousy, love of fame, attractions and repulsions, the urge for possessions of various kinds small or great, small desires and feelings such as the desire for food, sexual desire, small likes and dislikes, vanities, quarrels, love of praise, anger at blame, and a host of numberless things together constitute the holistic life-force. We also give mental expression by thought, speech or otherwise to the emotion, desire, passion, sensation and other movements of the holistic life-force. And history is shaped only by this holistic life-force, holistic life-force interacting with other holistic life-forces and holistic life-forces interacting with the environment. Hence the holistic life-force could be described as the Being of History or as the intelligence and self-awareness of the

spirit or the zeitgeist.

The holistic life-force functions through three *gunas* or qualities namely, *Sattva*, *Rajas* and *Tamas*, which are intertwined in each and every individual. The manifestation or the predominance of anyone of these *gunas* depends on one's progress towards purity. For purity, physical and mental, all uncleanness, all that would draw the mind down must be abandoned. Lesser the spontaneous longing for sense-pleasures greater will be the purity of the heart. Thus if one has less longing for *artha* (wealth, material well being), for *kama* (love of all kinds including love for power, fame, etc.) and even for *dharma* (ethical living, righteousness) and more love for *Moksa* or spiritual perfection or freedom from sense-desires, then he would be progressing towards purity. If purer, *Sattva guna* manifests, less purer, *Rajas* rushes as action and less still, *Tamas* envelopes. Bhagwan Rajneesh observes, "Now physicists are ready to agree with *yoga*. They have split the atom and they have come across three things: electrons, neutrons, protons. Those three are of the same three qualities: one is the quality of light-*Sattva* stability; another is of the quality of *Rajas* activity, energy, force and the third is of the quality of inertia - *Tamas*. The whole world consists of these three *gunas* and through these three *gunas* a man of awareness has to pass. He has to experience all these three *gunas*. And if you experience them as a harmony, which is the real discipline of *yoga* ....".[4] The following *guna* box will give an idea of these *gunas*. (For example refer Gita).

Sattva	*Rajas*	*Tamas*
The quality that illumines, virtue, goodness; kind and unselfish action, equanimous and balanced mind, non-attachment, non-egoism, contentment, serenity, calmness, happiness, objectivity and true perspective; knowledge of unity in diversity.	The quality that drives to action, pride, self-esteem, stubborness, greed, egoistic action, incessent action, attachment to objects of desire, violence, wickedness, happiness and sorrow, mere indulgence in physical pleasures, longing, impatience.	The quality that hides or darkens, inertia, self-depreciation, despondency, blind indulgence in bodily pleasures, irrationality, laziness, obstinacy, lack of discrimination, heedlessness, mistaking stagnation for self-sufficiency, indifference to progress.

There exists no society which is solely of *Sattvic* people and uptill now it has not been possible. India is primarily a *Sattva-Tamas* nation and its holistic life-force's primary tendency is to move towards *Sattva*. All Indian spiritual teachers, Super Beings like Rama and Lord Krishna, founders of religion like Buddha and Mahavir, saints Ramanand, Mirabai, Chaitanya, Ramakrishna, etc., are all embodiments of *Sattvic* force. Asoka's *Dharmavijayin* policy, Gandhiji's non-violence, Nehru's non-alignment and *Panchasheel* are all *Sattvic* political philosophies. Gandhiji's *Sarvodaya*, Vinobhave's *Bhoodan* are all *Sattvic* economic Philosophies.

The west is *Rajas* - too much

activity and speed is the symbol. India is very slow moving and at sometimes not moving at all and hence she also has Tamas in her being. Generally from the time of Mahmud Ghazni's invasion of India in the eleventh century A.D. upto the blossoming of Renaissance in the nineteenth century Hindu India was enveloped by *Tamas*. Rarely, a Nanak, a Chaitanya, a Kabir, a Sivaji, a Raja Raja, a Krishna Deva Raya appeared in their midst even during this dark age of the Hindus. Ancient India was not totally *Sattva-Tamas;* infact Hindu Northern India upto seventh century A.D. was moulded by *Rajas-Sattva gunas*. Islam as a political force exhibited *Rajasic* quality. India's freedom struggle manifested *Sattva-Rajasic gunas*. In short History is generally shaped by *Rajas Sattvic gunas*. Active people mould it.[5]

Magnifying Macro-Ideas

The *gunas* of the Holistic life-force always find mental expression as thought, speech or otherwise. Aspirations, ambitions, emotions, sentiments and thoughts mix, merge and emerge as ideas. Hence ideas flow from the whole, from the total personality of an individual. Some ideas are magnified and become embodied social-waves and hence are the property, the dreams, the hopes, the conscience, the consciousness of he collectivity. These magnifying macro-ideas shape both the political and non-political life of the collectivity.

Such magnifying macro ideas have shaped the history of India too since the ancient period. For example, in India since the ancient period for a long time a monarch was a sentimental symbol and influenced by this idea, many were even ready to die for him. The Hindu socio-political and other institutions are the offsprings of the vedic - thought, *upanishadic* thought, *Gita, Dharmasastras, Dharma Sutras, Arthasastras, Saktism, Saivism, Saiva-Siddhanta, Visistadvaita,* Raja Ram Mohan Roy's ideas, the philosophy of Sri Ramakrishna, Vivekananda, Gandhiji, etc. Similar magnifying macro-ideas have moulded Indian Art and Architecture including Fine Arts, Medicine *(Caraka Samhita)*, etc. Many great Indians were instruments of such ideas. Hence it is not surprising when H.G.Wells remarks that the history of ideas is the essence of human history[6] Allen Newins too observes, "It is the special glory of history that it touches the realm of ideas at more points than almost any other study. Great ideas of any civilization create the uniqueness of any age".[7]

Culture and Civilization

Hence magnifying macro-ideas knit together the political and non-political human values and institutions which are all the symbols of culture and civilization and the latter are often used as synonyms. All those inventions of man which have tangible individual physical identity - e.g. buildings, transport vehicles, machines, artificial commercial products etc., could be described as the expressions of civilization. But all those discoveries of man which deal with man himself directly and which are both tangible and intangible, seen and imagined with a personality of their own, respectively - e.g. family, tribe, caste, class, state, nation, society, etc. - could be described as the images of culture. For example a Nation has a tangible geographical personality as well

as intangible common values and traditions. These values are often *emblems of belief. Beliefs change* from time to time. *Bharat* or India for centuries was only a cultural and geographical concept. Today it has also become a single political concept. *Sati*, infanticide, child marriages, joint-family structure were beliefs before the nineteenth century but today living as widows, widow-remarriages, divorce, late marriages, family planning, nuclear family structure are our accepted values and beliefs. Thus culture expresses our individual or social values and beliefs and deal directly with ourselves. W.H.B.Court says that history free of all values cannot be written.[8]

Both culture and *civilization* are not rigid anti-thesis but synthesis of human values embracing all spheres of human activity. Thus we talk about political culture, technological culture, rural culture, urban culture, Hindu culture, moral culture, etc., All activities of man are the by-products of and the index of culture and civilization. And history is nothing but the story of culture and civilization, which together constitute the body of History.

Role of Select Individuals

Many magnifying macro-ideas which have shaped culture and civilization are the contributions of select individuals. We do not know the names of all of them, e.g. the unknown Indian who invented the concept of zero, which infact is the foundation of many modern scientific achievements. Not all those who discover and invent become famous. e.g. the names of Indians to whom Manu is indebted are not well-known.

Some magnifying macro-ideas undergo change by additions, enlargement and distortions e.g. Buddhism. *Some individuals are both the originators* and actors of their ideas e.g. Mahavira, Asoka renouncing war, etc. Some others are the instruments of actions of magnifying macro-ideas: e.g. Chandragupta Maurya was an instrument of Kautilya's ideas, Vivekananda of Ramakrishna, etc. Regarding some magnifying macro ideas we do not have clear evidence about their originators, e.g., the brain behind Samudra Gupta's, Raja Raja's Conquests. Hence we can with Carlyle say that "…. all things we see standing accomplished in this world are properly the outer material result, the practical realisation and embodiment of thoughts that dwelt in the great men sent into the world".[9]

Heroes of Indian History

Heroes have shaped the history of India from time immemorial. Since the establishment of the Magadhan empire (B.C. 544 - B.C. 493) more than 65 dynasties have ruled all over India. Of these more than 440 rulers belonging to 39 important dynasties have played a vital role in making the destiny of India till the advent of India's independence. (This list includes also 45 Governors General of British India).[10]

From this list of 440 kings we can choose only around 40 as heroes who contributed significantly. They are (1) Chandragupta Maurya, (2) Asoka, (3) Pusyamitra Sunga, (4) Gautamiputra Satakarni, (5) Kharavela, (6) Kanishka, (7) Chandragupta-I, (8) Samudragupta, (9) Chandragupta-II, (10) Harsha, (11) Mahendravarman, (12) Pulakesin II, (13) Narasimha Varman, (14) Yashovarman of Kanauj, (15) Lalidaitya of Kashmir, (16) Dharmapala, (17) Vijayasena, (18)

Bhoja, (19) Raja Raja, (20) Rajendra I, (21) Balban, (22) Ala-ud-din Khilji, (23) Vishnuvardhana, (24) Krishna Deva Raya, (25) Babar, (26) Sher Shah (27) Akbar, (28) Aurangzeb, (29) Sivaji, (30) Baji Rao, (31) Hyder Ali, (32) Tippu Sultan (33) Ranjit Singh, etc. In addition Tilak, Gokhale, Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, Indira Gandhi and foreign invaders Darius I, Alexander, Toramana, Mihirikula, Muhammed-bin-Kasim, Mahmud Ghazni, Shaheb-ud-Din Ghori, Timur, Nadir Shah and Ahmed Shah Abdali have also changed the fortunes and fate of India.

Causes for Hero-Worship in India

1. Caste Structure

The caste structure, which permitted the Kshatriyas to rule, legitimised and systematised the monarchical form of government in India since the ancient days. The Hindus began to worship monarchy. They even believed that the king was the cause and maker of his Time *(Rājā Kālasya Kāranāha)*. Hence the Indians developed the habit of obeying and worshipping the authority of the monarch, as a God.

2. Belief in Fate and *Santa Rasa*

Faith in fate, in reincarnation, in divine and non-human agencies encouraged them to accept everything including obedience to authority as a consequence of the divine will and as the fruit of their actions (including those of earlier births). This developed in them the quality of *Santa-Rasa* or calm resignation or acceptance.

> The East bowed low before the blast
> In patient deep disdain;
> She let the legions thunder past,
> And plunged in thought again.

3. Absence of Revolutionary Consciousness

Indians have been without protest, voluntarily accepting all kinds of inequality including caste inequalities. Consequently they did not develop revolutionary consciousness. Infact till the beginning of the twentieth century seldom hear about mass revolution in India and we read only about occasional conspiracies, revolts, intrigues, murders and fratricides.

4. Source of Power

The king became the source and substance of power. He distributed rank and precedence. He can exert pressure, employ violence and cause status anxiety and status dislocation.

5. State and Nation

The king thus became a synonym for State and Nation and around him State's stability, national unity, hegemonic aspirations, *Dharma* or moral principles, prestige of the people revolved. The preservation and promotion of all these depended on his personality to a certain extent. Absence of obedience could also mean the outbreak of anarchy or chaos and hence people's fear of unwelcome alternatives also nurtured hero-worshipping tendencies; sometimes even to a stupid extent.

6. Achieved Status

The Hindu political life was governed by what Mahabarata describes as the *Matsyanyaya* doctrine, i.e. the strong would devour the

weak like fish in water. Hence a king's continuation in power to a certain extent depended on his capabilities. In fact only the application of this doctrine originated many new dynasties in India since the vedic period. Hence a king also achieved status by merit. The Indians not only admire efficiency and political wisdom but elevate virtue like honesty, integrity, self-sacrifice in political life to sublime level. A few like Asoka, Gandhiji, Jawaharlal Nehru achieved status because they had these special traits.

7. Ascribed Status

It means inheritance of ancestors' status. Many Indian kings owed their ascribed status to hereditary form of government. But still their continuation in power also depended on achieved status because of *Matsyanyaya* framework of life. Kings like Raja Raja are best examples of this combination of status in them.

Hence it is not surprising to find that the contemporary Indians of each era recorded what pleased their patrons. e.g. *Ithihasas* which for example contained *Narasamsi* or hero lauds, popular *Vamsa* or geneology type of literature, the popular biographical literature of Indian muslim historiography which mainly recorded the deeds of "grandees and ministers, thrones and imperial powers". For example, Barni says that one of the benefits for the study of history is that it introduces us to lives of great men, prophets, saints, thinkers and sultans. He also adds that he is against recording about the "lowly and base" people.[11]

Paramount Actors

Thus the history of a people appears to revolve round the magnetic Paramount Actors. Paramount Actors are invariably grandees, mighty majestic personalities and many in the list of 40 Heroes of Indian History mentioned earlier, can be placed in this category. Invariably they are sublime, lofty and charismatic personalities. Many of them during their life-time create a sense of indispensability and irreplaceability. They need not always occupy positions of authority and rule and still may be leaders of their people, e.g. Gopalakrishna Gokhale, Subash Chandra Bose, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Jayaprakash Narayan, etc. Some of them are *Satvic-Rajasic* forces like Jawaharlal Nehru, or *Rajasic-Satvic* forces like Akbar, or *Rajasic* forces like Pulakesin II and Indira Gandhi. They may be national or regional heroes of a people.

A paramount Actor might give the appearance as the centre of action of his epoch but still the history of an epoch is not the monocasual consequence of the ideas and actions of one Paramount Actor. History is not a monologue of an monoaction play of a single individual because the Paramount Actor does not exist in isolation. A Paramount Actor lives with his people and together they weave History. But in that history of an epoch a Paramount Actor becomes the profile, the mouthpiece, the symbol of his people, the dream, the rhythm and the dance of his people, the hope and soul of his culture the spirit of his time and the mirror of his epoch.

Significant Others

Even then the history of an epoch is not a monotonous dialogue between a Paramount Actor and his people. It is an interaction of many significant personalities. Moreover a Paramount Actor springs from a crowd only at certain epochs suddenly and hence not a constant history-making force. The constant continuous history-shaping energy arise from the significant others and also from the man-in-the-street. They are the Supreme Beings, Star-Luminaries, Back-Seat Actors, Bigwigs, and the Local Notables, respectively.

Super Beings are those heroes of a people who leave indelible memory-imprints on a people and whose thoughts and ideals continue to attract and influence the values and the behaviour of a people. They live as heroes of eternity. They could be classified into three groups. Mythological Super Beings are the popular darlings given to posterity by our venerated epics and other literature. e.g. Savitri, Kannagi, Harishchandra, Sakuntala, Prahalada, Markandaya, etc. Secondly the semi-mythological Super Beings are those idols of a people, for whose real existence there is no unassailable proof: e.g. Rama, Sita, Krishna, Dharmaputra, Arjuna, Bima, Draupati, Gatotkacha, Bhisma, etc. Thirdly the Mundane Super Beings who really lived with us: e.g. Buddha, Mahavira, Asoka, Gandhi, etc. These three groups are always of those heroes with *Sattva . guna* and hence are sublime and lofty examples and inspiration. They are always the constant virtue-waves of a culture.

Back-seat Actors are those rulers who occupy the throne when a Paramount Actor fails to appear in an epoch and who seldom leave a record of indelible achievements. They may be a nullity or obscure ciphers or objects of indifference or of contempt or even unnoteworthy and inconsequential. Many weak kings who had small roles in politics could be placed in this category.

Star-Luminaries distinguish themselves by note-worthy ideas and actions and hence are the worthy pillars of a society. They may be rulers or leaders of a movement or ministers and regional/national personalities: e.g. Kautalya, Mahamud Gawan, Katta Bomman, Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Lala Lajpat Roy, Lal Bahadur Sastri, etc.

Big-wigs are those who are powerful and significant enough to affect the lives of others to some extent and they may have weight and influence. They are the sculptures in the pillars of fame. Under this category we may group many distinguished citizens who occupy positions of authority or those by contemporary Indian social and cultural parameters have won *Lalit Kala Akademi Awards*, *Sahitya Akademi Awards*, *Sangeet Natak Academi Awards*, *Arjuna Awards* in Sports or National Film Awards, etc. They are those who contribute to culture in a special way and some act as influential tunnels for cross-fertilization of ideas and movements.

Local Notables are those crowned and uncrowned leaders of a locality or of a local community and hence have power and influence over their groups: e.g. Muthuramalinga Tevar's hold over Thevar Community in Tamil Nadu, Bal Saheb Thakre's hold over *Shiva Sena* in Maharashtra, etc.

Hence, History presents men and situations in many dimensions and at many levels simultaneously. Heroes belonging to all walks of life - politics, education, literature, science, journalism, law, religion, social reform, business, industry, etc. working in different spheres of life, holding different ideas and following different methods have contributed to the growth of national consciousness or development of society and to the making of India. *The Dictionary of National Biography* 1800-1947 edited by S.P.Sen, Institute of Historical Studies, Calcutta, which has included the biographical sketches of 1400 Indians is one such work attempting to record the tangible contributions of many important personalities. Even during the vedic period more than 100 eminent heroes like Jaimini, Satyakama, Yajnavalkya, Agastya, Maitreyi, Lopamudra, Vyàsa, etc., have contributed to the growth of national consciousness.[12]

Infact the Hindu way of life including Hindu social institutions are the result of the collective endeavour of many eminent personalities and hence not the brain-child of a single individual, at any epoch. It is the inherited wisdom and collective memory and the collective will of the inhabitants of India manifested in the manifold activities of their lives. Trevelyan observes, "The lives of rival statesmen, warriors and thinkers, provided they are good books, are often the quickest route to the several points of view that composed the life of an epoch ... several biographies are often more deeply instructive than a single history".[13]

Masses

However George Kitson Clark sceptically observes that history "described entirely in terms of relationship between important individuals at the centre of politics is history without background and, therefore, obviously questionable. But history without a background is better than history with a false background provided by well worn phrases about whose general accuracy no one has ever bothered to think".[14] It is indeed true that history gains depth and more weight, more than its obvious and immediate meaning, only when it flows as a sea-whole, as a totality. A significant historical personality is only a wave, may be an autonomous wave, but the wave has meaning only as a part of the Ocean. Hence the collective ideas and actions of eminent personalities flowing together with the collective endeavour of the masses compose the history of a people.

Masses give the appearance of haphazard generalisations, vague nebulous forces. They create a feeling as if each one of them do not possess an individuality in the stream of historical consciousness. In crowd behaviour they seldom spring into limelight as individuals. During times of peace they are significant silent crowds and muffled voices conforming, acquiescing with what they get from the rulers. The rulers are permitted to function as their enlarged selves and hence the ruler and the ruled have stable-identity. The Indian masses have been usually passive, sedate, quiet, peace loving, self-security minded and wholly family-centred. They have functioned as responsible torch-bearers of Indian culture and civilization. When they never had eminent leaders it was the masses who preserved the Hindu tradition during the Muslim rule in India and hence have contributed

preeminently to the unbroken continuity of the Hindu heritage. The masses are the psychic-energy, the concealed springs and the sleeping valcanoes. They function peacefully as active *collective will during election time* in democracies and have the potency to explode as revolution. No wonder they constitute the environment, the background of historical actions and memories.

In short the leaders and the masses form an organic whole like the head and body of a man. To omit or to completely ignore either of them is a genetic fallacy. All human institutions percolating down to the nuclear-family structure have this organic functional unity. The leaders and the masses support each other like a balance and hence history is the joint-endeavour, the collective labour of a people as a whole.

Monistic-Pluralistic Vision: Psychic-Psycho-Autonomous History

This collective labour of a people is the manifestation of the joint action of all the holistic life-forces. The free will-play of the holistic life-force on the conscious plane can be understood and explained rationally to a limited extent. However all actions are not the expressions of the conscious and there are certain apparent irrational, non-rational actions and forces, which need explanation and without which history is incomplete.

For this we have to study the working of the mental holistic life-force and the explanation given to it below, is from the Hindu point of view as explained by Swami Vivekananda, Sri Aurobindo and Bhagvan Rajneesh[15] our conscious life is but a small part of our consciousness just as the visible part of the iceberg is only one seventh of the whole, the rest being submerged in and one with the vast Ocean of cosmic existence. What is submerged are the unconscious, subconscious and *superconscious levels of the same* mind. The unconscious and the subconscious are the vast mass of sunken thoughts and actions of our old conscious thoughts and actions, *including* those acquired in our previous incarnations. Normally on the conscious plane we are not aware of them and hence many times we are not conscious of their promptings and influence over our actions. Usually they come out when they get the right stimulus. Psycho-history and psycho-biography school attempts to study their influence on history with the help of hypothesis and circular arguements. Sometimes this school takes a partial truth or a local truth and generalises unduly and tries to explain the whole field of nature in its narrow terms.[16]

With psycho-analysis you remain on the same level of consciousness and you are adjusted to the same level again. At the most psycho-analysis can be a cure, but as problems go on arising, it is not preventive. Only if the level of consciousness increases and if there is a maximum manifestation of consciousness, there is a minimum of problems. *In total* consciousness problems disappear and infact in total consciousness problems cannot arise. A psycho-analyst like Wilhelm Reich can go mad, not a Buddha.

Hence, historical analysis at the level of a Buddha consciousness or total consciousness might be attempted to offer explanations to certain events of life, for which mundane rational explanations are not convincing. For we see some

are born blind or with other defects; some die young; empires unexpectedly spring and vanish suddenly; civilizations rise and fall; fortunes smile unanticipated on a nation or on an individual; floods, drought, famine earthquakes, upset all our calculations; a child that falls accidentally from a multi-storey building at times escapes unhurt; many astrological predictions come true, quite a mass of them, if we take them altogether; miracles happen in the life of a Jesus or a Saibaba and sometimes even in an ordinary individual's life - How? These all point out human limitation and the limitation of the conscious free-will.

The Hindus trace many of these causes to fate or *karma*. Each good or bad action has a reaction, including actions of our previous births and hence we become fate by our actions. This fate binds us because the past of the soul has an effect on its future. Even while undergoing old fate from the past, we are also given free will and our will and action can often annul or modify even past *karma*. It is only certain past effects, strong *utkatha karma* that are non-modifiable.

But even this and fate as a whole can be modified by the Grace of God. If you are ego and lust, gravitation pulls you downward; if you lose ego and lust gradually Grace pulls you upwards to the super conscious plane. This is the principle of Grace. One can lose ego and lust only when all attachments, aversions which cause delusion, disturbances, and disquiet of the mind cease. And this can be done through self-control; for a scattered mind pulled hither and thither by desire cannot be controlled. Grace blossoms in a pure mind, free from worldly bondage and desire. The, Purer the mind, the easier it is to control and when purity of mind comes cessation of thought comes spontaneously. Then mind becomes calm, undisturbed and it experiences superconscious bliss.

In the superconscious, one becomes identical with the Divine and becomes free. It is even supposed to give the power to annul *karma*. In the superconscious plane one experiences the oneness and the unity of creation, which is invisible to the normal turbulent mind and intellect. Sankara says "*Brahman* is real, the world is illusory and the individual soul is *Brahman* itself and no other". Jesus says, "I and my Father are one".

Sri Aurobindo points out that physics has already concluded that what exists in essence is energy and all we experience is the varied formations of one single, indivisible energy in its infinite and eternal variation. Spirit is matter in intension and matter is spirit in extension. The Absolute is beyond this duality but has the capacity to be both without losing its own absoluteness.[17] It is an astonishing fact to know how much this ancient doctrine is in perfect consonance with the latest findings of Schrodinger, "Consciousness is never experienced in the plural, only in the singular. Consciousness is singular of which the plural is unknown, there is the only thing and that what seems to be plurality is only a series of different aspects of the one thing produced by deception".[18] This is akin to the Indian teachings on *Maya*, a term denoting cosmic ignorance which obscures Reality and conjures up the universe of multiplicity. From these teachings we can learn, that Reality is one

and hence existence in reality is monistic and not pluralistic. History too is the product of this monistic Reality and its plurality appears to be a deception.

Thus the experience of the super-consciousness reveals the presence of the Divine Power. Even scientists confirm this. Sir James Jeans in *The Mysterious Universe* (p.138) says: "Today there is a wide measure of agreement that the stream of knowledge is leading towards a non-mechanical reality; the universe looks more like a great thought than like a great machine ..... we hail it (Reality) as the creation and the governor of the realm of matter ..... The universe shows the evidence of a designing or controlling power". Long ago *Brahma Vidya* or meta-physical knowledge of *Gita* teaches that this universe is not a chance product of any kind of chaos but has a mysterious presence governing at every stage. And this Divine power functions as monistic consciousness.

The experience of the super-conscious also reveals that on that plane there is a preponderance of *Sattva*, infact such an experience transcend *Sattva* and infact all the three *gunas*. Superconscious also reveals the source and designer of *karma*, Grace and all the other incomprehensibles. Infact it reveals that the source of creation is the Divine and the Divine reveals Himself to us in three ways, within ourselves, above our plane and around us in the universe. This Divine is the all originating spirit, the source, sanction, material, efficient power, master of all activities. The action of a Buddha or a Jesus, infact all egoless selfless action, love for humanity, sorrow for the helpless all originate from this divine psychic-plane of consciousness. The psychic is the divine element in the individual being, which comes from, and keeps in touch with, the Divine. Infact all higher improvements in us originate from this plane and history relating to these could be described as psychic history.

Even then, to the normal men with scattered minds this Divine monistic Reality is invisible and even incomprehensible. In them mind creates plural objects and plural consciousness, as normally seen by us and arranges time to serve a similar purpose relating to events which happen to us. This is because mind is the lamp of the Light and not Light itself. Goethe says, "It is not given to us to grasp the truth, which is identical with the divine directly. We perceive it only in reflection, in example and symbol, in singular and related appearances. It meets as a kind of life which is incomprehensible to us, yet we cannot free ourselves from the desire to comprehend it".

Yes, like Goethe, we cannot free ourselves from the desire to comprehend the Divine, whose presence we normal men infer, smell and guess, especially when we experience intuition, higher and nobler actions and their effects and the contingent and unexpected twists and turns and these point upto the psychic springs of actions also as sources of history. Infact History would be enriched if studied simultaneously as psychi-psycho-autonomous history. Psychic history would, as already pointed out, enable us to study about higher *Sattva guna* actions and about the Divine. Psycho-history would help us to understand about the hide and seek game of the un-conscious and sub-conscious. Autono-

mous history would throw clarity on all those conscious actions flowing from free will. It is autonomous because this free-will is invisibly influenced and limited to a certain extent by *karma*, by the subconscious and the unconscious and by Grace. These psychic, psycho, autonomous sources together weave actions and influence historical events and such a comprehensive history could be described as a holistic or psychic-psycho-autonomous history. And this psychic psycho-autonomous history, with concealed mysteries thus leads us to a holistic or monistic-pluralistic vision of History. To the egoless, Reality is monistic, to the egoes it is pluralistic, hence it is holistic, embracing both the visible and invisible sources and sanctions of actions. The play of the plural is a conscious and unconscious mental, egoistic, subjective reality and the omnipresence of the singular, monistic Energy is an elusive, mysterious, egoless, no mind or silent mind's objective Divine Reality, as experienced by the Sages and as inferred by some scientists. Hence History is a reflection of this holistic Reality.

The same divine life runs through and through all creation and Man is this divine heritage. There is only one Power, one intelligence, one mind, which is God and our mind (mental sour-force) is nothing but a reflex of that. Mind, when it becomes united with the universal Mind through one pointed striving attains a state of complete illumination and one gains access everywhere from the atom to the infinite. Jesus Christ says, "If, therefore, thine eye be single, thy whole body shall be full of Light". Chuang-Tzu advises, "Keep your body under proper control, your gaze concentrated upon one, and the peace of God will descend upon you". By concentration one obtains stability of the mind, and concentration is the secret of the strength in war, in trade in short in all the management of human affairs. History is thus the offspring of thoughts and concentrated thought. It teaches us to guard our thoughts because peace is the outcome of such an endeavour. Hence as a search light of infinite power History has unlimited scope.

To sum up, History springs from, fades and vanishes into and resurrects non-stop spontaneously with unbroken continuity from the mysterious holistic monistic Reality God and in between it flowers and matures as the dreams of the unconscious and conscious, as the clarity of the superconscious, as the actions and interactions of plural life force and consciousness, but its visible vital moulding energy and signal beacon lights are geography, the magnifying macro ideas and actions of significant Actors, and the environment of the masses, which jointly and simultaneously compose culture and civilization.

NOTES

1. *Thus spake the Vedas* (Sri Ramakrishna Math, Madras-4, 1979) pp. 81, 102.
2. S. Muzafer Ali, *The Geography of the Puranas*, (People's Publishing House, New Delhi, 2nd ed., February 1973), pp. 1-24.

3. Arthur Marwick, *The Nature of History*, (Macmillan, 1971), pp. 107-108.

4. Bhagwan Shree Rajneesh, *Yoga the Alpha and the Omega Discourses on the Yoga Sutras of Patanjali*, (Rajneesh Foundation, India, 1976), p.13.

Refer also Swami Vivekananda, *Meditation and its Methods*, ed. by Swami Chetananda, (Advaita Ashram, Calcutta, 1976).

5. See for example Rajneesh, *Ibid.*, pp. 13-14, 28-29.

6. Robert Jones Shafer etc. eds., *A Guide to Historical Method*, (Homewood 111., The Dorsey Press, 1969) p. 19.

7. *Gateway to History* (Revised ed. Garden city, Doubleday and Co, 1962), p. 299.

8. Quoted in Marwick, no. 3, p. 245.

9. Quoted in A.L.Rowse, *The Use of History* (The English Universities Press Ltd., London, E.C.I., 1963), pp. 175-176.

10. These 39 dynasties to whom the 440 rulers belong are - (1) The Magadha empire, (2) Sisunaga, (3) Nandas, (4) Mauryas, (5) Sangas, (6) Kanwas, (7) Andhra Satavahanas, (8) Chedi Dynasty, (9) Sakas, (10) Kushanas, (11) Guptas, (12) Hunas, (13) Vardhana Dynasty, (14) Yashovarman of Kanauj, (15) Prathiharas, (16) Gahadvalas, (17) Palas, (18) Senas, (19) Chauhans, (20) Solankis, (21) Chalukyas, (22) the Eastern Chalukyas (23) The Rashtrakutas, (24) Pallavas, (25) Cholas, (26) Slave Dynasty, (27) Khilji, (28) Tughluk, (29) Sayyids, (30) Lodis, (31) Kakatiyas, (32) Hoysalas, (33) Later Pandyas, (34) Bahmani, (35) First Sangama Dynasty, (36) Tulu Dynasty, (37) Nizamsahis, (38) The Mughals and (39) British India.

11. R.C. Majumdar, "*Ideas of History in Sanskrit Literature*"; A.K. Warder, *The Pali Canon and its Commentaries as an Historical Record*, and P. Hardy, *Some Studies in Pre-Mughal Muslim Historiography*", in C.H.Philips ed. *Historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon* (Oxford University Press, London), pp. 13, 15, 45, 115-127. Jagdish Narayan Sarkar, *History of History Writings in Medieval India*, (Ratna Prakashan, Calcutta, 1977). Also refer works of Elliot, H.

12. See for example *The Cultural Heritage of India*, Vol.I, (The Ramakrishna Mission, Institute of Culture, Calcutta, 1975), pp. 650-651.

13. Quoted in A.L.Rowse, no.9, p. 39.

14. Quoted in Arthur Marwick, no. 3, p.183.

15. The complete works of Swami Vivekananda, A summary of it can be studied in *The Mind and its Control*, Swami Budhananda (Advaita Ashrama, Calcutta, July 1978).

Dictionary of Sri Aurobindo's Yoga by M.P.Pandit, Sri Aurobindo Ashram, 1973), Bhagwan Rajneesh, no.4, also his other works.

16. Richard E. Beringer, *Historical Analysis Contemporary Approaches to Clio's Craft,* (University of North Dakota, John Wileys & Sons, New York, 1978). For a criticism of psycho history refer Jacques Barzun, *Clio and the Doctors Psycho-history, quanto History and History,* (The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, London, 1974).

17. R.R.Diwakar, 'Aurobindo' in Donald Bishop, ed., *Indian Thought and Introduction,* (Willey Eastern Private Ltd., New Delhi, 1975), pp. 328, 333.

18. Suresh Chandra Sharma, "From Physics to Philosophy" in *Brahmavadin,* Vol.17, No.2, April 1982, (Madras, India, p. 38).

Note

The effects of *Karma:* There are three kinds of *Karma* or effects of action, viz., *Prarabdha, Sancita* and *Agamya.* Prarabdha is the name for the effects of one's previous deeds, which have already begun to germinate and bear fruit in this life. *Sancita* is what is stored up for the next life. And all that are to come to fruition in future lives are classed under *Agamya.*

When the *Atman* is realized, only the *Sancita* and *Agamya* are destroyed. But *Prarabdha* still remains. It exhausts itself only by actual enjoyments and sufferings in the present life of the realized man. By virtue of this *Prarabdha,* his body continues to exist even after the attainment of *Jnana,* and falls only when the *Prarabdha* is worked out. So here, by *Karma* (i.e. effects of *Karma),* the *Upanisad* means only the last two kinds of *Karma.*

Swami Sarvananda, *Mundakopanisad* (Sri Ramakrishna Math, Madras, 1982), p. 56.

Acknowledgement

I am grateful to Dr. C.E.Ramachandran, Professor and Head, Department of History, University of Madras, Prof. Soundararajan, Department of History and Dr. Gopalan Shastri, Department of English, I.C.C. & C.E., Madurai Kamaraj University for their loving help and affectionate guidance in the preparation of this paper.

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BRAHMAHATYA IN SCULPTURAL FORM

T. Chandrakumar

Introduction

Tiruviṭaimarutūr, where this rare icon, has been unearthed, is located about 8 km. north of Kumbakonam in Thanjavur District, Tamil Nadu. This place is the abode of the Lord Mahalinga Perumal and his consort, Perunilamamulai Nayaki. The temple is considered to be one of the great *tirthas* of Tamil Nadu. The glory of the temple and the deity was sung by a number of successive Saiva saints right from the beginning of the 7th century down to the 18th century A.D.[1] Pilgrims from far and near continue to flock here in thousands during festive occasions. Among the innumerable sculptures of Siva, Sakti, Visnu and minor gods and goddesses, the temple contains a relief-figure of *Brahmahatya* at the entrance of the second eastern *gopura* (Fig. 1). *Brahmahatya* represents the *dhosa* (sin) which one begets due to Brahmanicide (killing of Brahmana). It was considered to be one among the *pancamapadakas*, five heinous sins.[2]

The temple tradition avers that a certain Varakunapantiyan, a king of Madurai, was returning from the hunt when his horse trampled and killed a sleeping *Brahmana*. Ever since the king was haunted by the ghost of the dead. The sin in the form of a ghost followed him like a shadow wherever he went. The suffering king decided to wash away the sin and therefore as an expiatory measure, started building temples and made over munificient gifts and endowments but all proved futile. The king appealed to his Lord Somasundara (Siva) at Madurai. Siva responded to his call. One day a Gandharva (celestial being), Siva's agent answered from the heaven, "King do not fear. The Cola king is planning to go to war against you. You will defeat him and pursue him and in this way you will reach the shrine of Tiruvitaimarutur, where your sin will be healed".[3] It was usual on the part of the ghost that it dispossessed temporarily the king on his entering a temple and awaited his return only to possess him again. Knowing this temporary dislodgement, the king one day entered the temple but did not come out through the original exit, but found his way out through an exit on the western *prakara*.

This story has been substantiated in the depiction of a figure of *Brahmahatya* in high relief on the *gopura* (supra) at Tiruvitaimarutur. This sin has been conceived as a man seated in *utkutikasana*. Of his two hands one is placed on the thigh and the other resting on the knee of the folded-leg. By way of exposing

his sorrowful attitude, the head is shown downcast and the chin resting on the knee of the folded-leg. It receives offering of salt and spices.[4] Similar figures are found on the pillars of the *alankaramandapa*, the Vriddhagirisvara temple at Vrddha-calam.[5]

Beliefs and Customs

Apart from the traditional and iconographical illustration given above for *Bramahatya* image, it is also interesting to note in this context another sculpture (Fig.2) discovered on the southern corner of the inner most *prakara* known as *Asvamedhapprakara* in Tiruvitai-marutur. During the course of my research survey an unfamiliar specimen of art was found amidst heaps of rubbles and stones.[6] The lower part below the knee is broken. It is about 100 cms. in height and stands on a square solid base (20 cms.).

It is a curious figure, not often met with generally. It has a frightful appearance though the nose and mouth are unfortunately truncated. Even though it looks hideous, the modelling of the whole figure is not unwholesome. It retains its sculptural uniqueness in general fashioning. Examples of such bizarre figures are not altogether lacking in Tamil Nadu. Occurrence of such frightful figures in clay medium having an appalling look, ovoid eyes, knitted eyebrows, bunch of moustaches and hairy constitution are a common sight in the vicinity of Ayanar, Kali, Draupadi, Gangaiamman, Mariyamman, Angalamman, Selliamman and Karuppanaswami temples in the villages of Tamil Nadu.

People produce such unique figures in burnt-clay and adore them by conducting pompous festivals on certain specific days. The deification of such grotesque figures does not seem to have been planned all at one time, but they evidently come up from time to time to meet the needs of the people. It is commonly believed that such worship might dispel evil spirits that roam about the street, avert common diseases like measles and small pox and chastise ghosts that haunt the house. Such sacerdotal and ceremonial functions involve a lot of time and energy on the part of the people and even then they are ready to pay for it; their belief being irrevocable and unquestionable. Therefore the creation of such unique-figures may have to be viewed from mythological and philosophical perspectives of the society which is largely sustained by religious faith.

Iconic Illustration

The iconographical and sculptural modelling of this icon is interesting for a thorough understanding of the interaction of religion and sculpture. The figure is tall statured and looks slim, hence one can notice its anatomic disproportion in exhibiting broad shoulder and slender legs and hands.

The figure is two-armed, right holding a *danda* or *musala* and other in *dola hasta*. The face is circular. It is not bearded, but simply unshaven. The nose and mouth are destroyed. It has round and horrid eyes with thin eyebrows. The whole physiogonomy appears to have been clad with wavy jacket. Such wavy lines terminate into a number of nodes at intervals which in all probability represent wrinkles of the skin. The small region around chin and palms are left plain. A close perusal of

the wavy-design-like-contours might suggest the full hair growth that looks smothered over the whole body. We find the depiction of three spiral like-design, two at the chest and one at the navel. The nails in the *pāda* (feet) are designed like claws of birds. The hair on the head is not spread out but tucked up in the fashion of *jaṭābhara*.

Identification

The identification of this image poses a problem which should be viewed from the socio-religious and traditional background of the people and the locality. Since this sculpture has been discovered in a temple, known for its hoary tradition and belief as seen earlier, it goes without saying that it appears to represent *Brahmahatya* or the sin manifested or personified in human form. The possession of clawed feet is striking in this regard which tends to suggest its flying nature as a ghost *(Brahmahatya)*. The wavy impression on the image is suggestive of the ghastly spirit which has taken possession of the man. So the inner human figure which is basically masculine represents a king who holds a *danda* which might symbolise a royal sceptre. The *jaṭābhara* formation in the locks of hair possibly point out the sad plight to which the king was accidently subjected who moved from temple to temple like a saint with a view to get rid of the *Brahmahatya*. Thus the iconographical features also are in support of the identification with *Brahmahatya*. In view of the damaged condition it is very difficult to determine its date precisely. Basing upon the stylistic feature and thematic innovation, it would be assigned to the 15th-16th centuries A.D.

Conclusion

The composition of the figure in an unusual pattern earns a place in the aesthetic horizon for two reasons; (1) the dexterious chiselling of the icon in hard granite medium, and (2) in bringing out the superb carvings of the spirals and wavy patterns that too in a parallel idiom without causing damage to the general contour. Thus it is a masterpiece and its value as an exquisite iconic specimen requires no further evidence.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Saiva Saints like Tiruñānacampantar, Tirunāvukarasar and Suntaramūrti (7th-8th centuries A.D) in *Tēvāram*, Māṇikkavācakar (9th) in *Tiruvācakam*, Karuvūrtēvar (10th) in *Tiruvicaippa*, Sēkkiḻār (second quarter of the 12th) in *Periyapurāṇam*, Pattiṉattuppillaiyār (13th) *Tiruviṭaimarutūr-Mummaṇikkōvai*, Aruṇagirinātar (16th) in *Tiruppukaḻ*, Kottaiyūr Sivakkoḻundu Tēsikar (16th) in *Marutavaṉa Purāṇam* and Mīṉātchisuntaram Piḷḷai (20th) composed hymns in praise of the deity and the sanctity attached to the place.

2. *Maṉusmriti* gives the following five great sins: Killing of Brahmana, cows *(gohatya)*, addiction of liquor *(surāpānam)* stealing *(sthēyam)* and enticing Guru's (teachers) wives.

3. D.D.Shulman (Princeton, 1980) *Tamil Temple Myths: Sacrifice and Divine Marriage in the South Indian Saiva Tradition* p. 25, U.V. Swaminatha Iyer (ed.) (Madras 1883) Sri *Madhyārjuṉamāṉmiyam*

included in the *Tiruvitaimarutur Sri Mahālingaswami Koil Mahā-kumbhābhisēka Malar* (Tiruvitai-marutūr, 1970) pp. 215-232. P.V. Jagadisa Iyer (New Delhi 1982) *South Indian Shrines* p. 299.

4. The offering of salt to malevolent deities like Sani and Munīśvara is usually given. In such offerings it is believed that evil acts of these deities would be nullified or made ineffective.

5. T.Chandrakumar, *Vriddhagirīsvara Temple, Vriddhācalam - A Study of History Art and Architecture* (Ph.D., Thesis Madras University, 1983).

6. T.S.Kalyana Raman, a noted freedom fighter at present living in Vriddhachalam (S.A. Dist. Tamil Nadu), drew my attention towards this rare icon.

Discription of Figures

Fig. 1 Tiruvitaimarutur Temple - Second eastern *gopura*.

Fig. 2 Tiruvitaimarutur Temple - Inner *prakara*.

Fig. 1

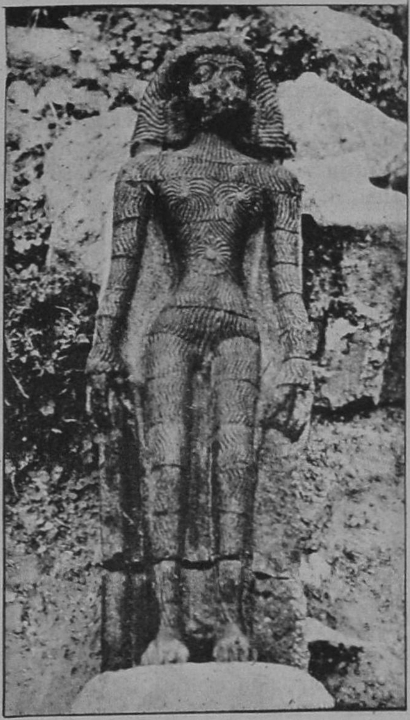

Fig. 2

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EVIDENCES FOR THE PHENOMENA OF EMERGENCE ALONG SOUTHERN TAMIL NADU COAST THROUGH REMOTE SENSING METHODS

V.J.Loveson and G.V.Rajamanickam

Introduction

Remote Sensing in Coastal studies helps to construct a strong background knowledge of the nature of Coastal landforms[1,2] and the potential activities of Geological agents involved.[3,4] Normally, within short times Coastal landforms undergo a rapid, and marked changes as they are exposed to very powerful Geological agents. Because of this nature, the studies made by applying Remote Sensing is quite satisfactory, as they are covering a quite larger area and also the same can be repeated frequently[5,6,7] leading to the facilities of updating the data. Remote Sensing Application aids scientists to recognise not only the structures of Coastal landforms but also the phenomena involved to create such features.[8,9] This paper, aims to explain the vital use of Remote Sensing Techniques in recognising some of the characteristic Coastal features which are the typical indicators of emerging nature of the Southern Tamil Nadu Coast.

Physiography

The coast between Mandapam and Kanyakumari has been taken for the present study (Fig.1), (7.44' to 9° 38'N and 77° 38' to 79° 22' E). The shoreline is found to spread to a length of 365 km. About eight small rivers which are less significant and two major rivers viz. Thamiraparani and Vaigai are carrying the drainage pattern of this area. This coastal area is particularly receiving some rainfall during North-east monsoon combined with retreating South West monsoon season (i.e. August to December) about 20-30 inches. During middle April to middle June, the area experiences a very hot and dry summer. Major coastal settlements are located in an alignment, parallel to the coastal configuration within an average distance of about 40-50 kms from the coast. Alternate rocky and sandy beaches along the coast are common. Swarms of tanks have been observed both in the northern and southern extremities of the study area. The coastal plain extending behind the sand dunes in the study area consists mainly of alluvial sediments.

Materials and Methods

To understand the emerging phenomena, a detailed Coastal Geomorphological Map has been prepared by adopting the following Remote Sensing Techniques.

False Colour Composite (F.C.C) Landsat Imagery (Band 4,5 & 7) of 1976 has been interpreted to

prepare a Coastal Geomorphological Map on the scale of 1:250,000. The resultant map was duly compared to Landsat Imagery (F.C.C., T.M. Band 2,3,&4) of 1986 and necessary corrections have been made.

Aerial photographs of 1972 have also been used to draw a Geomorphological Map, in the scale of 1:60,000 for certain areas where interesting features related to emergence have been noticed. In order to obtain, control on the land marks, the Topo-sheets of Survey of India have been utilized. Elevations of each land forms have been observed from the same Topo-sheets.

In order to get confirmation of ground truth, extensive field work has been undertaken.

To have a knowledge on background set up of the bathmetry in the nearshore area, Hydrographic charts have also been brought in for interpretation.

The Satellite Imageries have been obtained by the reflection of the electromagnetic radiations ranging in the zones of Radio waves to Gamma rays, from the earth's surface. However, the sensible effective range is considered to be the wave length zone of 10^{-6} to 10^{2} micrometer. These imageries have been interpreted by visual method. The standard classification of 64 shades to each colour has been applied here. The experience in delineating the kind of shades and the background of the area have been properly utilised on the colour shades during the identification of the features in the laboratory. The continuation of uniform intensity and shade or tonal variation has been taken into account to delineate a particular trend of a physical feature or lineament. Wherever, the indecision arises in demarcating the tonal variation, the ground truth has been brought to clarify the same. The observed features have been correlated with facts obtained through the Aerial photographs of the same region. Such photographs are interpreted from the differences noticed in the Stereoscopic displays.

Results and Discussions

The study has brought out many interesting features. Loveson & Rajamanickam[10] has prepared a Coastal Geomorphological Map (Fig.2) for this area but description of those features are far from complete. Ahmed[11] has described the Coromandel coast as the coast of submergence. However, if one takes a close observations there are many evidences not only historical but also the Geomorphological aspects betraying the possibilities of the emergence. For example, the ancient light house near Muttam is buried by the sand dunes and placed at present nearly two kilometer away from the shoreline.

Some of the following features displayed in the Geomorphological Map (Fig.2) have been explained: (i) Ridges, (ii) Back waters, (iii) Palaeo-channels, (iv) Spits and (v) Terraces.

In the map, all the above features have been recognised from the very well defined tonal variation, conjointly with its own peculiar and prominent characters in structure and appearance.

Ridges

Ridges are believed to be built by marine actions related to deposition along the coast.[12] As Kayals are significant in Kerala Coast (Ahmed,

1979), so the ridges in the study area. In the study area, the ridges are trending NE, i.e. parallel in disposition to the present coast.

The ridges can be recognised in the coastal areas between Tuticorin and Mandapam. This nature of possible occurrence of ridges may be continuing further south in the delta regions of Thamiraparani, but the occurrence is not recognisable in the imagery which may be due to the dissipation of energy under the thick cover of sediments deposited by Thamiraparani river. Further south, extending upto Kanyakumari the ridges are not observed. However, very significant well developed occurrence of ridges have been noticed between Mandapam and Valinokkam.

In that developed region about four or five major ridges have been recognised in Imagery. These major ridges along with alternatively placed swales may indicate marine regression. Each major ridges are associated with atleast two or three minor ridges. They are easily identified in the Aerial photographs. These may be attributed to the minor stages of local regression of the sea in this area.

It is noted that these ridges are equi-distant features. This nature suggests that the mechanism of marine regression in this area might have been achieved by definite time, magnitude and management of particular Geological agents or the definite stages of widespread tectonic movements acted in this area. At SW of Mandapam, the ridges are curved in disposition which suggests the nature of the basin i.e. a shallow one, during the formations of these ridges.

Mandapam to Tuticorin, the appearance of ridges are prominent. It is worth noting that this area might not have obtained any benefits from any of the rivers either by deposition or other activities. At the same time, the parallel disposition of these ridges clearly depicts that these ridges might have been due to the resultant effects of marine action of deposition and some tectonic forces acted in this area. It has also been observed that there is not much evidences for the possibility of the presence of ancient major rivers in this area, or otherwise these ridge formations would have been curtailed by them.

These ridges are composed purely of compact sand and shells along with small amount of lime as binding media, scaling about 6 to 8.5 meters. Layers of enormous sand deposition is provided alternatively with shelly deposits especially near Mandapam and Vethalai.

The ridge formation covers about maximum of 14 kms across landward from the coastline. Around Sippikulam the number of ridges are found to be lesser than the area around Mandapam, and also the pattern of such ridges are observed to be different from the curved disposition of Mandapam area. It may be attributed to the influence of palaeo-coastline configuration or shallowness of the shelf or due to effect of different directional magnitude of minor tectonism. The various stages of the development of these ridges, kinds of ridges and the different magnitude of the same, lead to think of the different times of the sea-level stand along this coast during the recent past.

Backwaters and Cut-off Tanks

In the study area, prominent Backwater zones have been recognised and they are situated almost parallel to the present day coastline configuration. There are two Backwater occurrences of which one lies between Vethalai and north of Kilakkarai and the other between Sippikulam and Kilmundal coastal area. These two occurrences are linear enough to follow the respective coastline configuration.

As compared to their length, the width is smaller spreading about 100-150m. Many branches of Backwater zones have also been observed and they are also dispositioned parallel to their respective main Backwater inlets during the phase of the regression.

Generally, during the phase of the regression of the sea, one finds many swales. When such swales are found to have still inlet from the main sea, that functions as the Backwater zone. In otherwords, most of the swales of last stage of regression have been provided with sea water inlet, so as to form the characteristic Back water zones. In turn, these Backwaters can be very well connected to the genesis of the ridge formation as the swales and ridges are usually alternate each other.

— As the Backwaters, located near the shore, have been receiving regular supply of sea water at high tide times, most of these Backwaters are connected to the silt supply, too. As it is getting supply of silt in high tide through littoral-currents, they get settled inside the Backwater zone and only sea water withdraws during low tide times. If this action prolongs constantly, there is every possibility for the Backwater regions to have been cut-off due to siltation. Likewise, numerous such cut-off Backwater tanks have been identified. Such type of Backwater tanks are noticed only at the northern part of the study area.

Apart from the nearshore Backwater tanks, numerous such tanks are observed in the interior especially in the regions situated, SW of Vaigai river. Most of them, when compared to fresh water, are saline in nature indicating the probable genesis through such marine cut-off tanks. Eventhough, they are somewhat parallel with the coastline, at the northern extreme of their region some diversion from north to NE disposition have been noticed. Such change in their linearity may be due to tectonic disturbances existed in the area[11] or by the inferred disturbances made by the Vaigai river, due to its change of course from SE to E.

There is another type of cut-off tanks which are not saline in nature, in the southern part of the study area close to river, Thamiraparani. Unlike the earlier, these are not parallel with coastline. In contrast, they are aligned with Thamiraparani river. As they are fresh water tanks, it may be considered that in this region the siltation or progradation leading to the closure of inlets might have been due to the river deposition than the marine activity. It is also inferred that emergence of higher intensity has been experienced by northern part of the study area rather than the southern part, because of the existence of large number of cut-off tanks, originated out of marine activities in the northern part.

Palaeo-channels

The presence of palaeo-channels have been recognised by their characteristic tonal variation. These are located mainly in northern part of the study area i.e., SW of Vaigai river. From the field work data, one is able to know one thing that is the significant presence of some fresh water cut-off tanks in this area. These channels' courses are indicated by the linear arrangement of the series of fresh water tanks which in turn, surrounded by salt water tanks mainly in the lower reaches of these channels.

Generally, two patterns of palaeo-channel arrangements have been recognised in the study area, one follows NW-SE trend at southern side whereas the other trends EW direction in the northern part. The Vaigai river is at present flowing in the trend of EW with the confluence at the Palk Bay. But there is every reason to believe that the palaeo-channels might have been occupied by the same river in the recent past, when it was flowing in NE-SW'. Accordingly, it may be inferred that at earlier times the river might have occupied the present palaeo-channels of NW-SE trends confluencing into Gulf of Mannar.[13] But, in due course, it must have shifted its course, so us to attain the present day configuration. The disposition of this feature suggests that the change of patterns of palaeo-channels might have been resulted due to sea level variation and the tectonic movements. As the area is flooded with large amount of alluvium sediments, the channels have been buried. The presence of salt water tanks here and there in the lower reaches of the palaeo-channel, can be explained in such a way that the closure of those tanks must have been initiated due to the regression of the sea and subsequently, as the same tank could not get marine water contact they must have been transformed gradually into less saline. While the siltation is aggrevated due to regression the changes of river course must have been initiated by the tectonic uplift.

Most of the palaeo-channels have been found to get terminated at the ridge zone, and could not cross over any of tne part of the present coastline. It suggests that the palaeo-channels must have been pretty old and they must have been formed before the formation of these ridges.

Spits

Presence of spits have been attributed commonly to movement and deposition of materials by long-shore currents.[1,4] The spits indicate the seaward progradation. In the study area, spit formation is noticed to be numerous along the coast. It is also observed that longshore currents in the study area are approximately having about 1.8 kts speed at Tuticorin. So, it is likely to pour enormous sediments along this coast.[15] In turn, these sediments have became the tool to produce spits then and there, where the favourable conditions occur or the coastline configuration changes.

An inactive spit is found at the mouth of small river at Manappad. Little past, this river might have been a major river. Because of this, the spit might have been developed or had facilities to bring enough sediment load to cause the quick deposition due to littoral currents.[10] This "Huge Dune Spit" rises about

10 to 12 meters above the sea level and purely consisting of white medium sand with lot of marine shells.

Further north, at Tuticorin, an interesting spit about 3.5 km long and 200-350 meters broad, is connected to the mainland in the south. It appears to have been built by the sediments brought by the long shore drift moving in the direction of south west mainly, under the influence of the south west monsoon. As the Gulf of Mannar is on the lee of the north east monsoon, there is no longshore drift from the north east that might cause the inward curving of this spit.[11] It can be explained that the Tuticorin spit might have been produced by the longshore currents' transportation of the sediments, discharged by Thamiraparani river under the influence of the monsoon. And also at Tuticorin coast, a shift in the configuration of coastline is noted from N-S to N 60° E. Because of such change in the configuration, change in the intensity and velocity of the transport capability of the littoral currents might have been retarded at these points to deposit the load of material brought even from a far distance mainly from south so as to form a spit. Over all, the quantum of sediments is so high that the sediments brought by the Thamiraparani river could not be removed entirely by the longshore currents in the respective season. As this spit is wider than the neck formed in the south, combined with the series of islands existing in the north of the spit, it characterises the feature of Tambole.

At Kilmudal coast primitive undeveloped spit formation of coarser sediments indicate that the fine sediments of the river are being transported further North by the littoral currents, which are found stronger here. The growth rate is very slow, due to lack of active siltation.

Another spit is seen at NE of Valinokkam and it is believed to have been aided by the promontary which is acting as a strong barrior of the currents encouraging the sediments deposition. In the study area, a fast growing spit formation has been found at Periapatnam. Eventhough, there is lack of river deposition around that coastal area, the fast growth is worth mentioning.[16] The change of configuration or the shallowness of the inner shelf might have induced the breaking of waves and currents, leading to the deposition of the littoral sediments. Such progradation must have activated the spit formation in the recent past and in turn, it must have aided the closure of the ancient busy port during 18th century.[17]

Further north, the lack of spit formation may be attributed to either to the straightness of the coast which discourages the deposition or to the gradual decrease of the velocity of longshore currents as they are coming with the protected shorelines or they don't get fresh load of sediments to carry further as the coast is fully made up of by compact beach rocks and coralline sediments.

Spits are the good indicator of the phenomena of emergence of progradation of the coast.[14] Accordingly as the study area is having appreciable amount of all kinds of spit formation all along this coast, it may be inferred that the study area may be experiencing the emergence or regression of sea. And,

it is also observed, that most of the spits just described are found to be still growing. It can be said that progradation oriented emergence is presently continuing in this area.

Terraces

The recognition of the occurrences of Terraces is marked by aerial photographic interpretation. The following places are provided with Terraces in the study area: Kanyakumari, Manappad, Tiruchendur, Therkkumukaiyur, Valinokkam, and Pamban north.[10]

These marine terraces depict the lowering of sea level along this coast and the height of sea level stand during the recent past. Among the granite exposures in the coast of Kanyakumari, one Terrace composed of sandstone is observed and it scales about 4 to 5 m height with the demarkation of three stages of Terrace.

At Manappad, Terrace formation is found within the compact dune formation. It consists of alternative calcareous sandstone and compact limestone bed along with numerous shells of molluscan family in both the types. About four stages of the Terrace is measured. The topmost sandstone stage is very tough because of the continuous lime cementation and the subsequent underlying Terrace rocks are found to be less hard. These formation is partly covered by the huge dune formation.

In Tiruchendur coast four Terrace stages scaling about 6 to 8 m height have been distinctly observed with clear demarkation. On the whole the Terrace formation is made up of calcareous sand stone. The variation within the four stages are only in the sand grain size. These Terrace rocks include large amount of shells of molluscan and pelycypods. Grooves of the living animals, noticed in the Terrace, suggest compactness and leaching property.

Calcrete Terrace formation at Therkkumukaiyur coast, consists of three stages, and is found to be tough and hard enough, even not to break by means of hammer. The sand particles have been cemented strongly so as to produce calcrete Terrace formation. Here, the presence of shells is completely absent..

At Valinokkam, compact sandstone Terrace showing three stages has been identified. Among the three, the upper and lower are less developed in contrast with middle one, which is alone reaching the height of about 2 meters. They are devoid of fossils and friable in nature.

Near the Light House of Pamban, a Terrace formation composed of sand and shells, having 0.75 to 1.5 in thickness is seen. Each has its own characteristic fossil assemblages and grain size variation.

Besides, Inland Terraces have been recognised at Pamban South Coast, Ervadi, Mandapam Camp, Vethalai, Thravaikkulam and dune Terrace at near Rameshwaram. These are quite inside at a distance of about 4 to 7 kms from the shoreline. These Terraces can be worked out to quantify the amount of withdrawal of the sea in the recent past.

Conclusion

The valuable tool of the ocean studies has been applied here for preparing the Coastal Geomorphologi-

cal Map of Southern Tamil Nadu. The Coastal features like ridges, back waters, palaeo-channels, spits and Terraces have been recognised. Significant ridge formation has been seen in the region between Tuticorin and Mandapam. It is observed that the Back water zones are commonly seen parallel to the coastline, configuration. Palaeo-channels, having two kinds of trends i.e. E-W and NW-SE, have been recorded and the same suggest the nature of siltation or sea level variation in the area. The typical progradation feature like spits have been noticed all along the coast. Pockets of marine Terraces with three or four stages have been traced all along the coast. The existence of these coastal features have been attributed to the predominant influence of the on-going progradation or the emergence of coast.

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(Maps & Figures next page)

Fig.1 Coastal Geomorphological Map of South Tamil Nadu, India

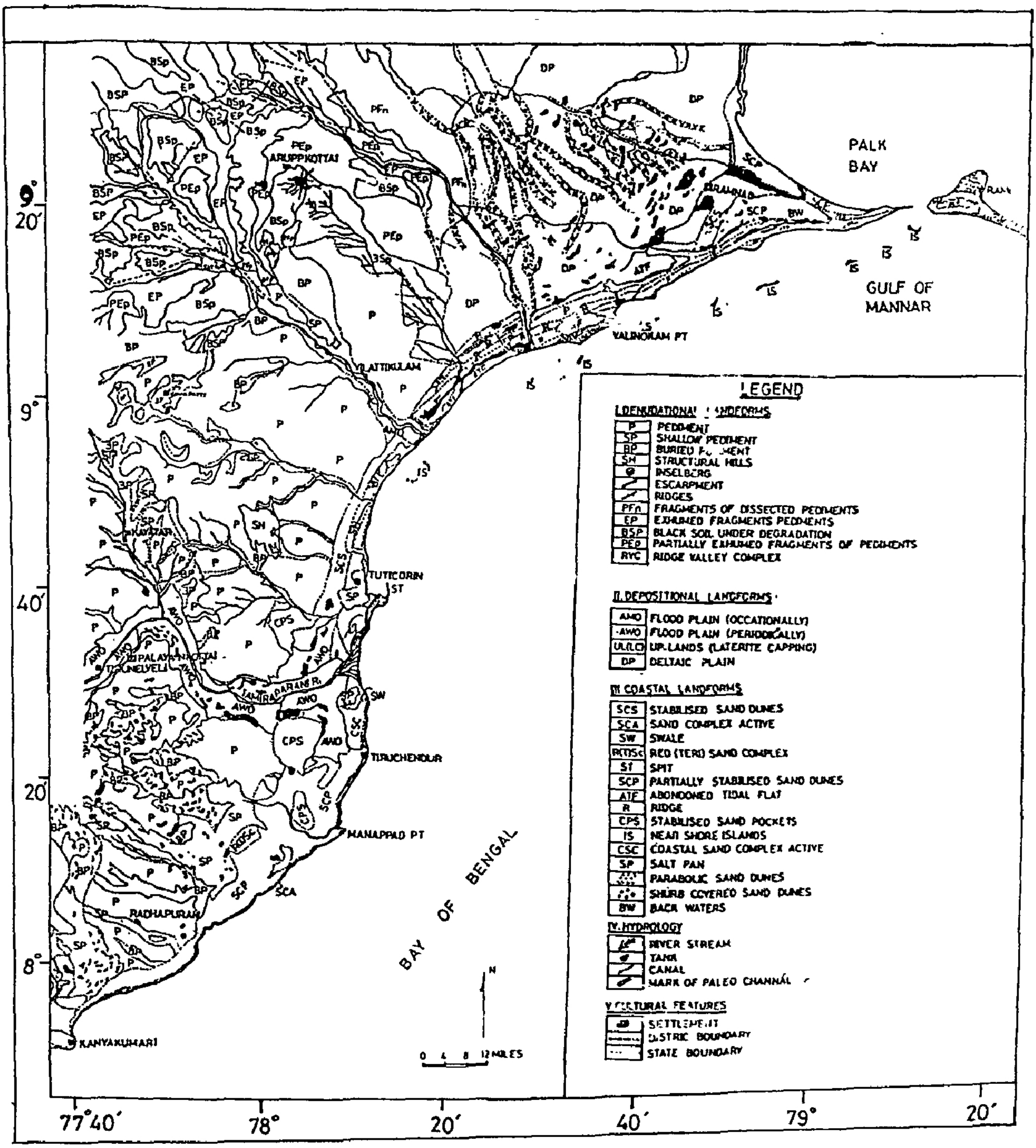


Fig-2 Map Showing Characteristic Features Like Palaeo-Channels, Ridges, Cut-off Tanks and Terraces

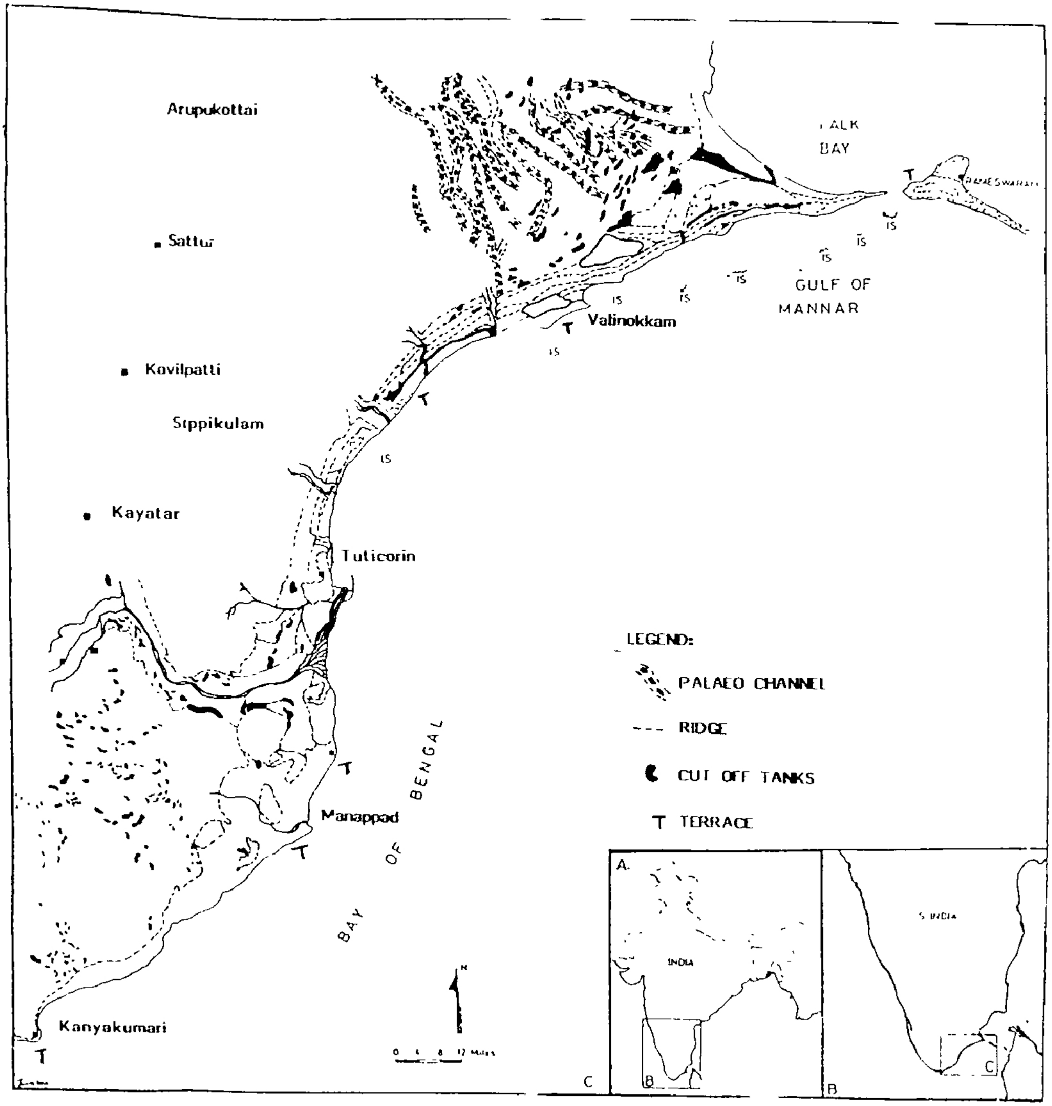
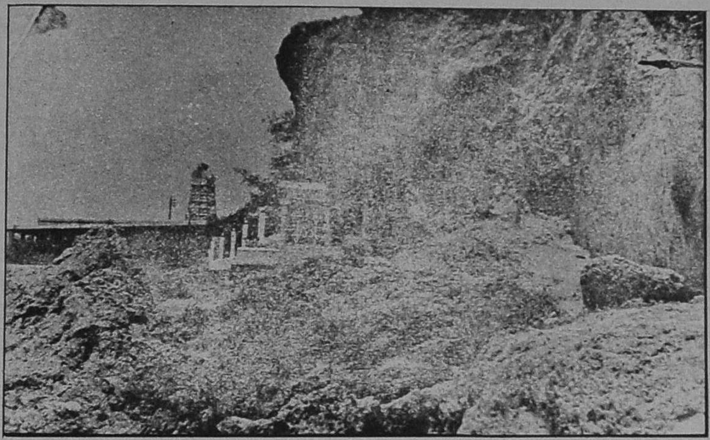


Fig.3 TERRACES



a.Terrace of about 6 M height located at Thiruchendur Coast

b. Terrace seen at Therkkumukkaiyur Coast

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EVALUATION OF THE TOXICITY OF *CARDIOSPERMUM HALICACABUM* ON NORMAL ANIMALS

T.Chandra and J.Sadique

Introduction

The history of every substance is almost invariably marked by an early and enthusiastic acclaim for its novel therapeutic potential which is often followed by a condemnation due to the occurrence of the seemingly inevitable side effects. The major toxicities of anti-arthritic drugs occur in several organ systems; the gastrointestinal tract, CNS, haematopoetic process, kidney, liver etc. The currently marketed anti-arthritic drugs present problems to both the physician and patient with side effects which often are severe enough to interrupt therapy. Generally, as the potency of the medication increases, so do the side effects and this necessitates careful evaluation by the physician of the benefit to risk ratio. The problem of producing an anti-inflammatory agent without the restricting side effects has not been solved. This is due in part to the lack of appropriate animal models, particularly in the area of CNS side effect which cannot be quantitatively determined in animals.

The plant *Cardiospermum halicacabum* Linn is commonly used for rheumatoid arthritis in Indian Systems of Medicine.[1,2] As the therapeutic potential of the herbal drug *C. halicacabum* was assessed and reported to be an anti-arthritic medicinal plant[3-5] the evaluation of toxicity of this drug is also essential. It could be studied by administering the effective alcoholic fraction to normal rats for a period of 15 days. The assessment of different parameters associated with toxicity might reveal the toxicological effects.

Any compound is toxic at some dose or other, conversely, there exists a low dose of even the most toxic agent at which no toxicity can be found.[6]

It has been already reported that the plant *C.halicacabum* is not toxic upto 4g/100 g. b.wt. in rats.[7] Acute toxicity of the decoction of *C. halicacabum* was also carried out by Pillai and Vijayamma[8] and they have reported that it did not exhibit any toxic symptoms or mortality in mice upto 50 g/kg b.wt. dose level.

In the present study, preliminary sub-acute toxicity of alcoholic fraction of *C.halicacabum* at its therapeutic dose is being investigated.

A quite comprehensive toxicological programme has been carried out including a number of bio-chemical tests, extensive histological

evaluation and tests for host defence mechanism.[9] The sub-acute toxicity study was carried out following the procedure described by Sethi.[10] Studies on the mechanism of action of a drug can frequently assist a toxicological evaluation by directing attention to possible mechanism and sites of intoxications.

One of the most common reasons for rejecting a compound from further consideration, eventhough it has no major life threatening side effects, is a high incidence of gastric intestinal disturbances. Gastrointestinal ulceration is a well known side effects following the administration of steroidal as well as non-steroidal anti-inflammatory drugs. These drugs produce gastric damage in dogs.[11,12] Gastrointestinal disturbances, such as nausea, indigestion, vomiting, stomatitis and diarrhoea have been reported in patients taking indomethacin or phenylbutazone[13,14] and pepetic ulceration has also been reported with indomethacin.[15,16]

One major difference in the gastrointestinal toxicity of steroids is that they produce 'silent ulcers' which occur rapidly and painlessly while there is some early warning of gastrointestinal irritation with the non-steroidal anti-inflammatory drugs.[17] An important characteristic of the steroid-produced-ulcer is its location. It is always found in glandular (pyloric) portion of the stomach where the mucosa in rat is similar to that of human stomach. Roberts and Nezamis[18] have described a method where multiple gastric ulcers were produced with steroidal anti-inflammatory drugs. Steroid treatment has resulted in more persistent and extensive lesions.

The most common method for determining whether a compound would produce a gastrointestinal effect is, to look for its ulcerogenic potential in animals. Usually drugs are administered by oral route and then, after a specified period of time, the animals are sacrificed and their stomachs are examined for the presence of ulcerations.

A multifactorial cause is implicated in the mechanism of gastric damage by aspirin and related drugs. Immediate effects are the sloughing of the mucous protective layer[19] and denaturation of the surface mucosal cells,[20] leading changes in permeability of gastric mucosa to ions and various molecules of different sizes.[21] The acidity of gastric content has a positive implication both in a man and animals.

Initial stimulation of acid production and release in the stomach could be a factor in the development of lesions. It has been suggested that vagotomy or pharmacological agents that block vagal activity inhibit acid secretion in the mucosa.[22]

Many NSAIDs have been reported to cause damage to kidney after prolonged administration to laboratory animals. Renal papillary necrosis has been produced mainly in rats, occasionally in rabbits and dogs, and rarely in monkeys. Among the NSAIDs causing renal papillary necrosis in rats, the following may be cited: pyrazolones[23] meclofenamic acid,[24] fenoprofen,[25] and indomethacin[26] sudoxican[27] and aspirin.[28] The lesions of kidney cells is often observed an autopsy of long term suffers from rheumatoid arthritis[29] but it is not clear whether this is an aspect of the disease or one of the consequences of prolonged administration of AI drugs.

The liver is the site for more toxic manifestation of experimental compounds than probably other organs. Many compounds apparently cause an enlarged liver. Disturbances of liver function with centrilobular or focal hepatic necrosis sometimes progressing to massive necrosis.[30]

During chronic administration of the drugs, changes in various enzymes and blood urea occur.[31,32] It has been reported that salicylates do not alter the leucocyte or erythrocyte counts or haemotocrit and haemoglobin content.[33]

In view of these studies with reference to salicylates (or aspirin-like drugs), the present investigation has been carried out to assess the deleterious effects of alcoholic fraction of *C. halicacabum* at the effective dosage on normal rats. Theulcerogenic activity of this fraction was studied following established procedure.[34] The ulcerogenic index (UI) and the acidity of gastric contents were also compared between normal and drugs treated groups (aspirin and alcoholic fraction of *C.halicacabum).* For sub-acute toxicity studies, two groups (10 animals in each group) or young male albino rats were taken. One group was kept as normal and other group was treated orally with alcoholic fraction of *C.halicacabum* at a dose of 250 mg/kg b.wt in 2% gum acacia solution daily for a period of 15 days. Normal group of animals received only the vehicle (2% gum acacia). After 15 days, both the groups were sacrificied by cervical dislocation and decapitation. The blood was collected, dislocation and decapitation and the stomach, liver, kidney and spleen were removed and stored in 10% formalin solution for histopathological studies. The weight of the spleen, thymus and adrenals were taken. The total cell counts was carried out as follows, Blood was collected in RBC pipette and diluted with Hayem's solution and counted in hemocytometer. Results are expressed as number of cells per mm3.

Results and Discussion

From table 1.0 it can be noted that there is a slight increase in the body weight of the alcoholic fraction of *C.halicacabum* treated group occurred when compared to normal control group after the daily drug treatment for 15 days. The present result might reveal the anabolic effect of *C.halicacabum.* This confirms the claims of Siddha literature with regard to *C.halicacabum* as an anabolic agent.[1] Table 1.1 shows various organs weight like spleen, thymus and adrenals. There was a considerable reduction in spleen weight but thymus and adrenal weights were not significantly changed.

Table 1.2 indicates the effect of alcoholic fraction of *C.halicacabum* on ulcerogenic index (UI) and the acid output of stomach. Alcoholic fraction of *C.halicacabum* and aspirin were administered for 6 days for different groups. Normal groups of rats received aliquots of 2% gum acacia solution. Normal group of rat exhibited 0.89 ± 0.05 ulcerogenic index while aspirin showed a higher index of 3.0 ± 0.15. Alcoholic fraction of *C.halicacabum* treated rats showed only 1.0 ± 0.05 ulcerogenic index.

The total acidity (Table 1.2) also increased in aspirin treated group (8.06 ± 0.05 m eq litre) when compared to normal group (2.08 + 0.2 m eq/litre). The total acidity

in alcoholic fraction of *C.halicacabum* treated group was 2.5 ± 0.3 m eq/litre.

Generally, there are several factors implicated in the development of gastrointestinal damage following NSAID administration. The acidity of gastric content has a positive implication both in man and animals. This has also been shown in the present observation (Table 1.2) that aspirin treated group alone exhibited more ulcerogenic index due to more acid secretion in the stomach. There are reports available with regard to high concentration of acidic form of drug causing damages in the gastric mucosa.[22] Aspiran stimulates the production of histamine in the stomach[33] and indomethacin, through stimulation of pentagastrin, tends to induce damage in the stomach. There are also reports on the effect of aspirin like drugs on platelet aggregation[35] and inhibition of prostaglandin synthesis in gastric cells. This leads to accumulation of precursors of prostaglandins, arachidonic acid which is diverted for the hydroperoxide (HPETE) synthesis. The inhibition of cyclo-oxygenase activity in the gastric mucosa is closely correlated with ulcerogenicity. This is the mechanism postulated for gastric ulceration caused by aspirin like drugs. The active principles in alcoholic fraction of *C.halicacabum* being non-steroidal in nature did not produce much damage to the stomach because some of the flavonoidal glycosides have been reported to inhibit both cyclo-oxygenase and lipoxygenase activity.[36] Thus the noxious lipid peroxide synthesis via lipoxygenase pathway is inhibited. Moreover, the less damage may be due to decreased acid secretion after treatment with alcoholic fraction of *C. halicacabum* (Table 1.2).

It has already been shown that the flavonoids which exert anti-inflammatory activity possess less ulcerogenic activity in the animals tested.[37] The flavonoids were also found to reduce the severity of gastric mucosal damage induced by NSAIDs like aspirin, phenylbutazone, indomethacin and ibuprofen.[37] Histamine induced ulceration in guinea pigs could also be reduced by prior treatment with flavonoids like cyanidanol-3, (+) - catechin, naringin and gossypin. This may be due to the inhibition of histidine decarboxylase[38] responsible for synthesis of histamine that is involved in ulcer formation.[39] The concomitant use of bio-flavonoids and NSAID's produces a synergistic anti-inflammatory response. The fact that they are also effective in reduing incidence of gastric ulceration produced by NSAIDs[37] suggests that their combination in clinical use may possibly lead to reduction of gastrointestinal side effects of non-steroidal anti-inflammatory drugs.

Another possibility in the development of gastric lesion is the involvement of lysosomal enzymes which exert the autolytic function. It has been observed[38] histochemically an increased acid phosphatase activity in the damaged mucosa of rats, given repeated doses of aspirin, suggesting that autolysis may be occurring in these regions. Lysosomal enzymes might be released in the parietal cells[20] and also from the leucocytes involved in phagocytosis in the systemic site. This might be due to the characteristic labilization of lysosomal membrane.[39]

Alcoholic fraction of *C.halicacabum* was found to stabilize the lysosomal membrane of rat liver

both in vitro and in vivo[3-5] lending support to the protective effect of *C. halicacabum* on gastric lesions by stabilizing lysosomal membranes.

From the parameters studied in blood, total white cell counts was not altered significantly (Table 1.3). A slight change in blood urea level was observed in the alcoholic fraction treated group (Table 1.3) suggesting that not much renal damage was caused by the active fraction of *C.halicacabum*.

The histopathological studies (Fig. 1.1 A&B) show that liver parenchymal cells of normal and alcoholic fraction of *C.halicacabum* treated group underwent congestion of sinusoids. In the case of alcoholic fraction of *C.halicacabum* the hepatocytes are normal except one focus of necrosis. Occasional foci of inflammatory cell infiltration can be noted (Fig. 1.1 B). Fig. 1.2 A&B show normal and alcoholic fraction of *C.halicacabum* treated kidney cells respectively. Normal kidney cells showed normal cortex and medulla without any abnormality with congestion of glomerular capillaries. Alcoholic fraction of *C.halicacabum* treated kidney cells showed focal interestitial inflammation with areas of congestion and haemorrhage. But no glomerular or tubular changes could be seen.

All the animals belonging to normal and drug treated groups were noticed to have (Figs. 1.1 A&B 1.2 A&B) congestion in liver and kidney cells. This may be due to the stress during drug as well as vehicle treatments to normal animals.

Thus it may be inferred that the alcoholic fraction of *C.halicacabum* exerted least side effects when it was administered to rats. These findings tend to suggest that the drug, *C.halicacabum* could be recommended for clinical trial in human rheumatoid arthritis because of its minimal toxicity and potent AI-activity. But, it should also be emphasised here that toxicity related to the CNS such as headache, psychosis, and peripheral neuritis may be difficult to assess in animals. Hence the study of this drug effect on these parameters in human is also essential.

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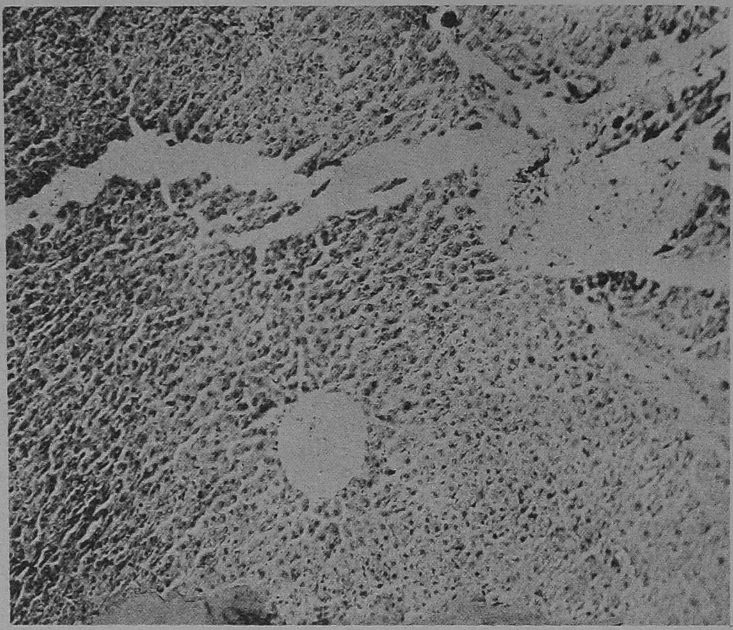

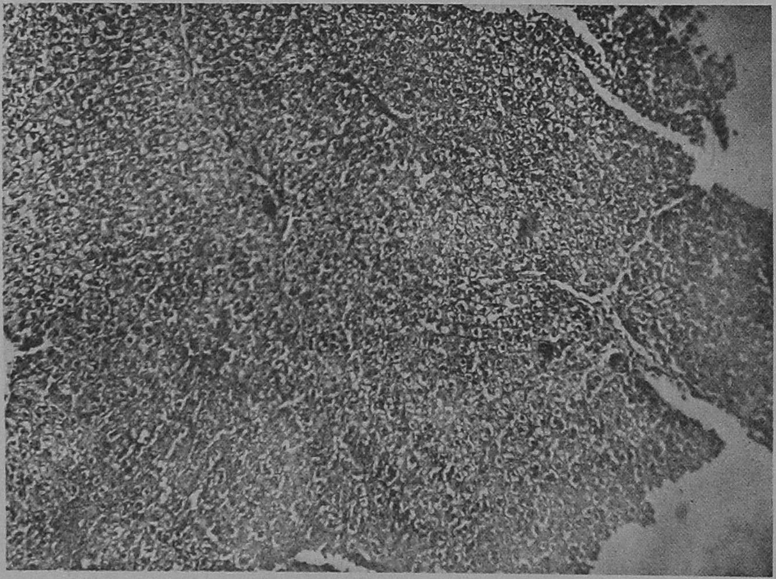

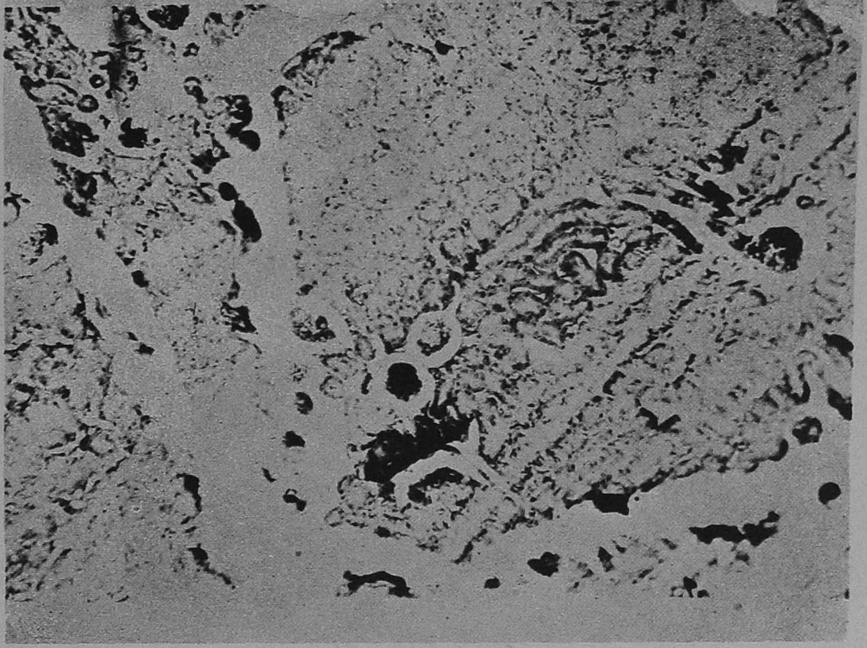

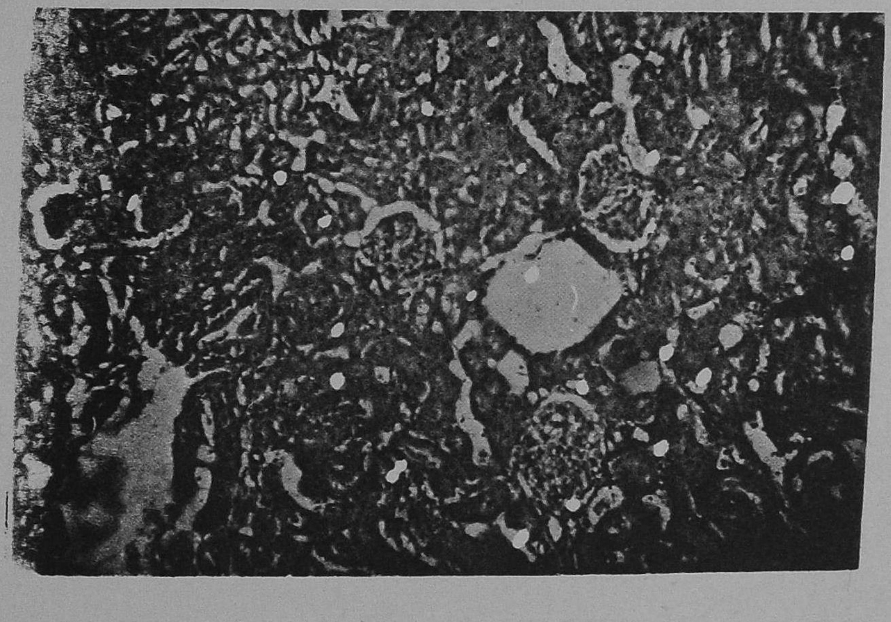

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